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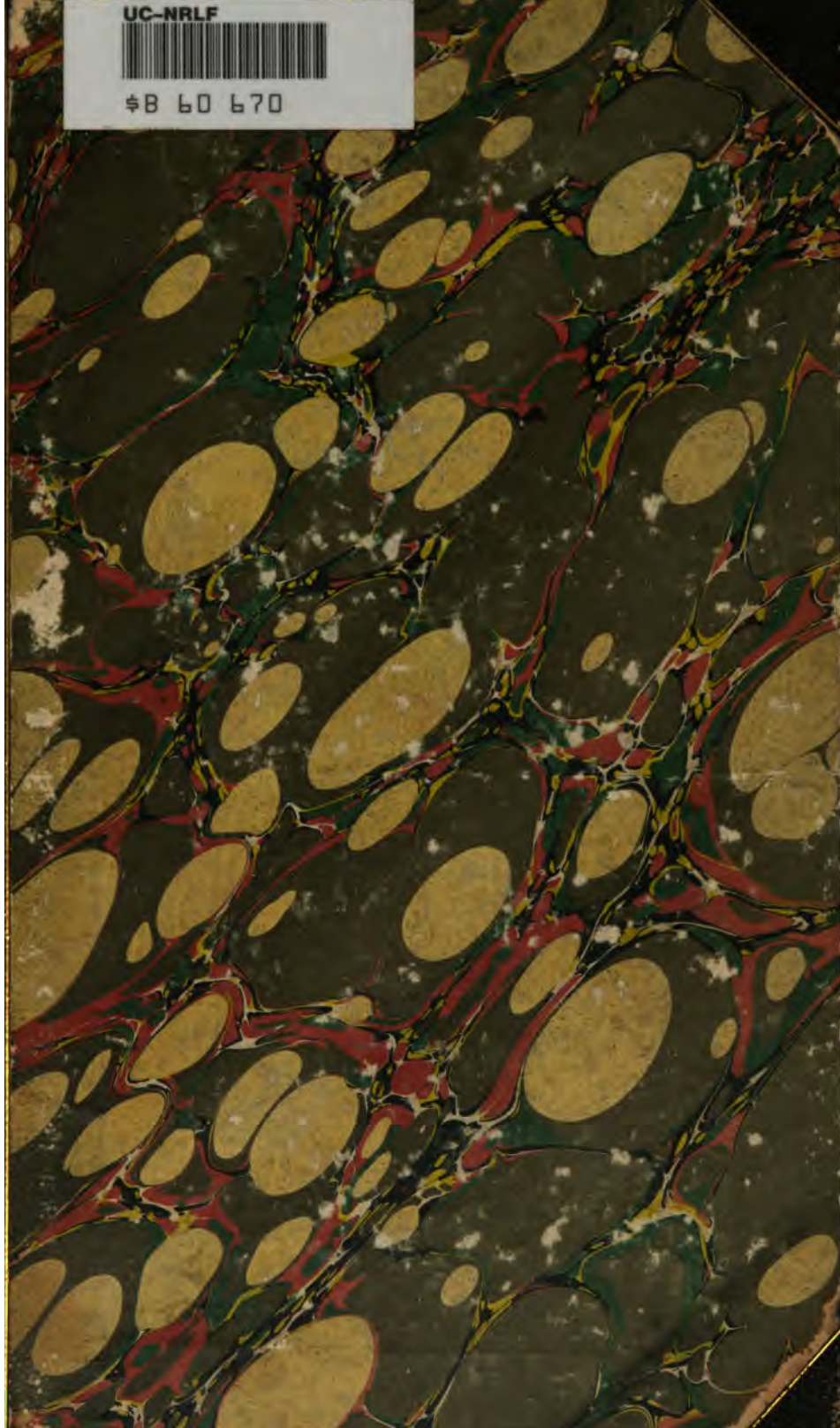
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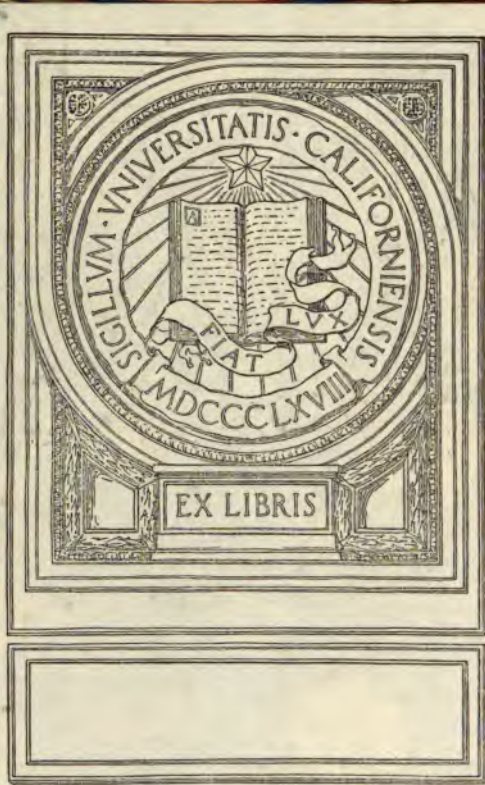
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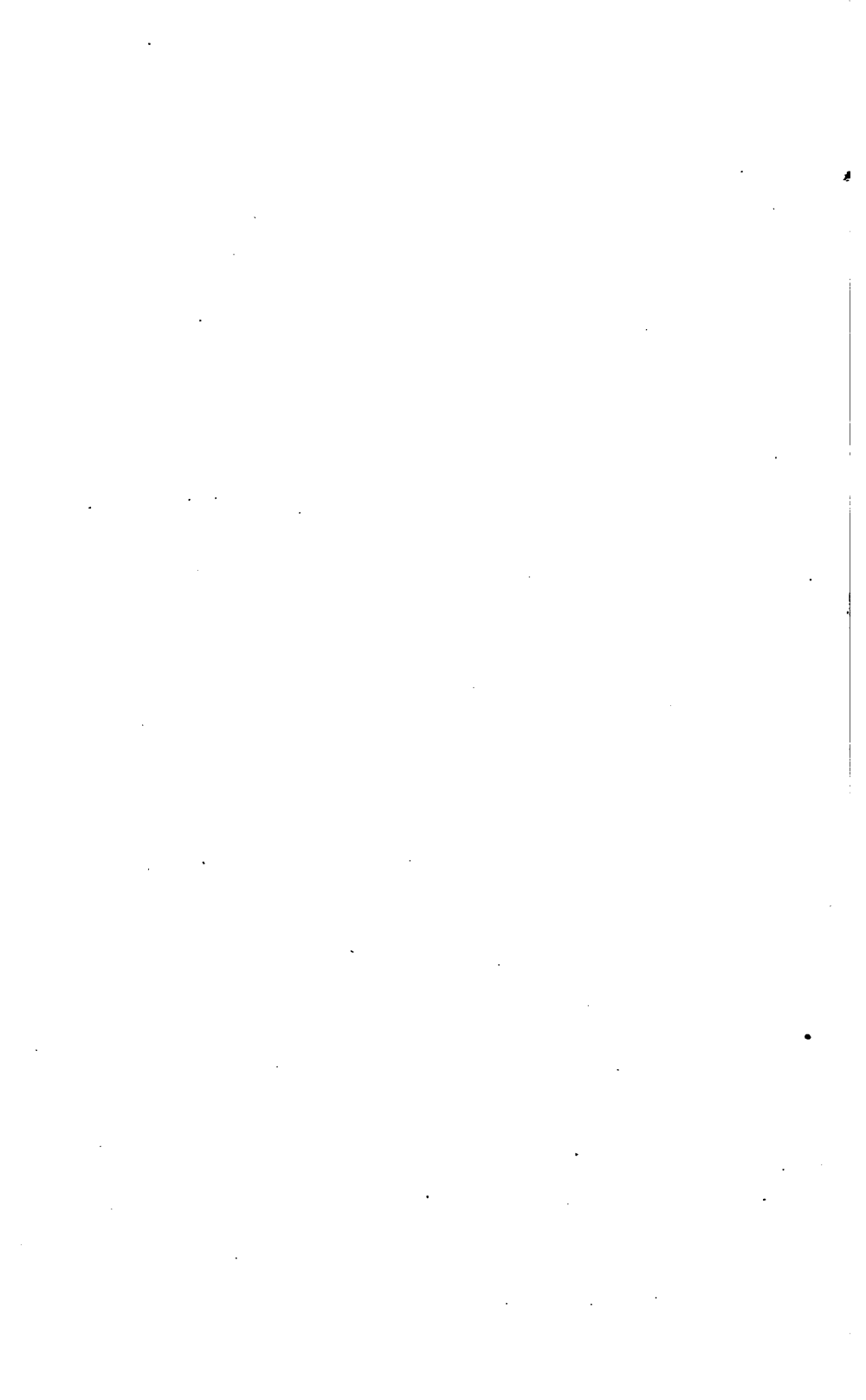




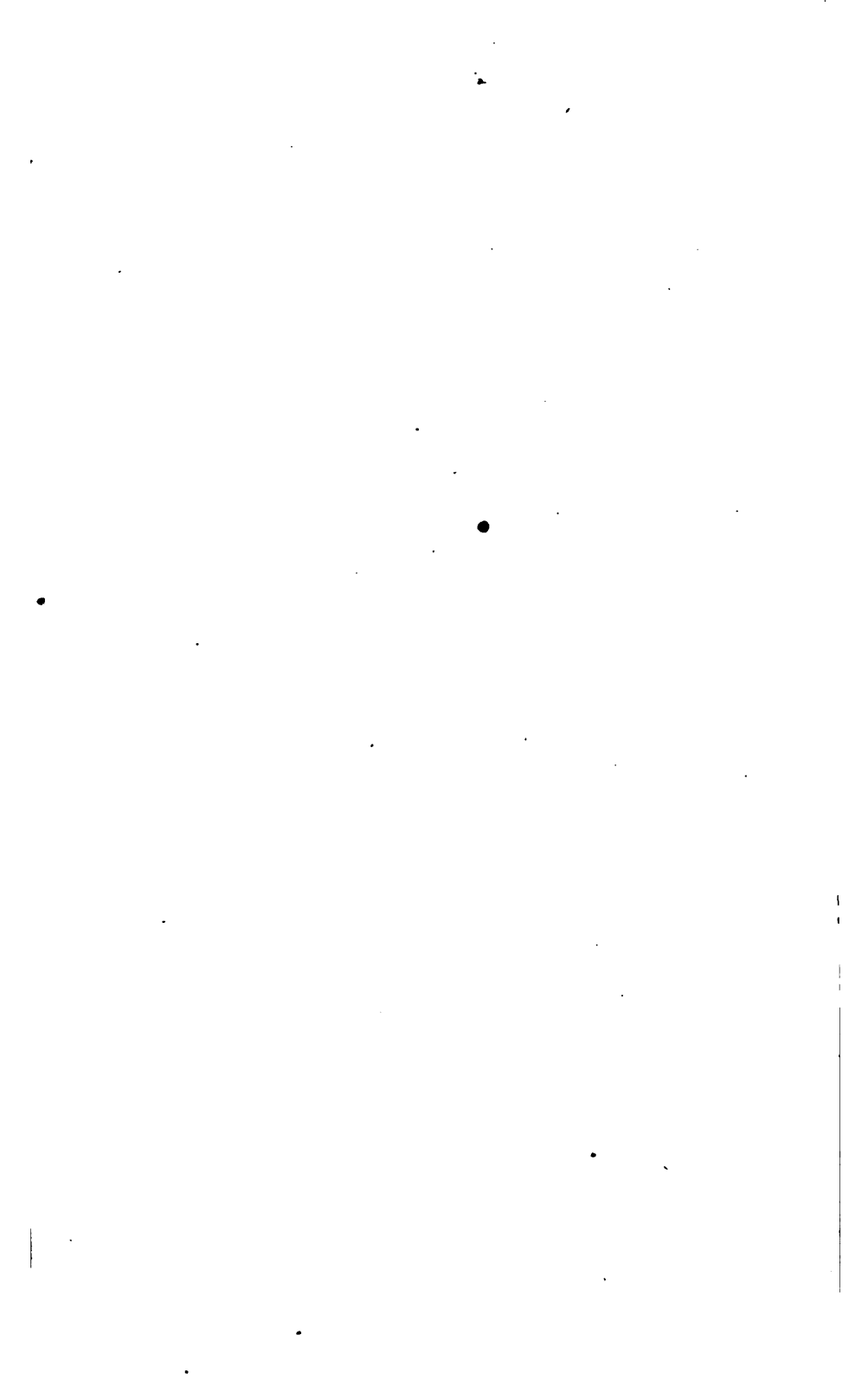












THE
LIFE AND SERVICES
OF
COMMODORE WILLIAM BAINBRIDGE.



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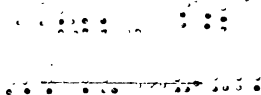
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Mr. Barnidge



THE
LIFE AND SERVICES
OF
COMMODORE
WILLIAM BAINBRIDGE,

UNITED STATES NAVY.



BY

THOMAS HARRIS, M. D.

SURGEON UNITED STATES NAVY, AND MEMBER OF THE AMERICAN
PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY.

Patria Victisque Laudatus.

PHILADELPHIA:
CAREY LEA & BLANCHARD.

1837.

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TO THE

ASSOCIATION

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TO
COMMODORE JACOB JONES,
OF THE UNITED STATES NAVY.

DEAR SIR,

This volume is inscribed to you in token of my high respect for your talents—of esteem for your many private virtues—and of grateful recollections for your unsolicited favours, and long continued friendship.

THOMAS HARRIS.

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PREFACE.

COMMODORE BAINBRIDGE'S career in the navy has been nearly contemporaneous with its origin. It has been therefore suggested to the author to annex to his memoir, a sketch of the history of the naval policy of the United States, of the events which distinguished the partial hostilities with the French republic, and a more extended account of the various actions with the Barbary powers in the Mediterranean under the command of Commodore Preble and others. The incidents of these brief, but eminently successful wars, were considered appropriate subjects for the biography of an individual, actively engaged in the one, and personally most interested in the results of the other. It will be seen, that the author has ventured to give a cursory view of many of these events; but to have extended his narrative, would have destroyed the individuality of a personal memoir. To have made such an addition, in a manner worthy of the subject, and of the service, to which his best wishes and efforts have been direct-

ed, would have imparted much interest and value to the work, but he neither possessed the qualifications, nor necessary documents, to enable him to perform such a task with accuracy and with the proper professional details. It would have been to the writer, a source of sincere pleasure, to have rendered ample justice to the officers engaged in a service, of which it has been truly said, that "although not on so large a scale, its achievements were as perfect of their kind as ever graced the annals of any country."

However desirable a history of the early conflicts in the navy may be deemed, the writer was not disposed to subject himself to the charge of presumption in an attempt to do what others, with more adequate means, and superior qualifications have failed to accomplish; or to incur the imputation of doing injustice to many individuals, by annexing to the memoir of an officer, however eminent, an episode as it were, of services and events, deserving a distinct and substantive memorial. He has therefore, omitted to notice all interesting events, and acts of personal heroism, not immediately connected with the principal subject.

A complete historical view of the navy of the United States, from its origin to the present period, embracing an account of the great eras of its progress—the difficulties and prejudices over which it has triumphed—a recital of the exploits of our most distinguished commanders—with judicious views of commercial policy, and of the naval resources of our country, is indeed a desideratum. It is to be lamented that many of the most important documents and records, in relation to naval affairs, were lost by the conflagration of the

navy department in the year 1814. From this cause the writer has been obliged to omit the important remonstrance of Commodores Bainbridge and Stewart, against the policy of laying up our ships during the late war with Great Britain.

From the private journals and extensive correspondence of Commodore Bainbridge—from conversations with him, and such of his friends as have served under his command—from *Goldsborough's Naval Chronicle*—*Clark's Naval History*—and from a manuscript biography of a portion of his life by General H. A. S. Dearborn, the materials have been collected for the following volume.

The writer, besides, has enjoyed the privilege of a close intimacy with Commodore Bainbridge—has seen him under all circumstances of disease and health—exhilaration and depression, and thus had the best opportunity of studying his character. The writer's chief aim has been to draw a plain and faithful narrative of the prominent events of his life. He believes, with Southey, that the best eulogy of a hero "is the faithful history of his actions: and the best history must be that which shall relate them most perspicuously."

However much the author may distrust his own ability to do justice to his subject, he trusts, nevertheless, that there will be found in the stirring events and animating incidents which he has endeavoured to portray, sufficient interest to redeem many defects of authorship. If the remark of Johnson be true, that "there has rarely passed a life, of which a judicious and authentic narrative would not prove useful," it is believed, that the life of Bainbridge will not be considered an exception to this rule.

An explanation is due to the public, for withholding this volume for so long a period beyond that which had been publicly announced. Engagements in constant and laborious professional duties—duties incompatible with all literary efforts, is the only one which he can offer. It is only during a convalescence from a protracted indisposition, that he has been enabled to fulfil his promise, and to perform a last act of friendship.

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to impress one of his majesty's subjects, and nodding disdainfully, carried off his victim.

Five days afterwards Captain Bainbridge fell in with an English armed merchant brig, of eight guns and twenty men, which, after preparing for action, he brought to by firing a gun across her bow. He kept the guns of the *Hope* bearing on the brig, while he ordered his first mate to seize and bring on board an able unmarried seaman. This order was promptly, though with some difficulty, executed; after which the English captain was hailed, and informed, "that he might report, that Captain William Bainbridge had taken one of his majesty's subjects, in retaliation for a seaman taken from the American ship *Hope*, by Lieutenant Norton, of the *Indefatigable* Razee, commanded by Sir *Edward Pellew*," afterwards the celebrated Lord Exmouth.

This seaman was allowed full wages, and on his arrival in the United States was regularly paid, discharged, and not dissatisfied with either the service, or country into which he had been forced.

The proceeding of Captain Bainbridge on this occasion was, doubtless, as illegal, as the act which provoked it; but, to a mind like his, alive to the honour of his country, and the rights of his fellow-citizens, especially of those under his immediate protection, the outrage he was compelled to witness, by which a citizen of the United States was torn from his country and family, perhaps for ever, was an abundant justification. Although it afforded no redress for the original wrong, yet it was designed to show the naval officers of Great Britain, that the rights of American citizens, so far as they were committed to the protection of Captain Bainbridge, were not to be violated with impunity.*

* Is not this a favourable juncture to settle the vexed question of the "right of search for seamen," to which Great Britain has so pertinaciously urged her right, and which the government of this country has as sternly

In the year 1798, Captain Bainbridge, on his passage from Europe, touched at St. Bartholomew, where he be-

resisted? Prior to the treaty made by Messrs. Monroe and Pinckney in 1806, the Government of Great Britain could not be induced in her several negotiations with the United States, to make a satisfactory arrangement for the protection of our seaman. Great Britain maintained that she had a legal authority to seize and take her seamen wherever they were found. Although this negotiation afforded some hope of an amicable adjustment of the difficulties, and the treaty was, it is believed, satisfactory in all other respects; yet, so seriously did Mr. Jefferson, then president, consider the evil of impressment, that he promptly rejected it, without even consulting the senate, for no other reason than its omission to provide against the seizure of American citizens on the "high seas." He declared, that "he could not reconcile it to his duty to our sea-faring citizens, or with the sensibility and sovereignty of the nation, to recognise even by construction, a principle which would expose their lives, their liberties, every thing, in short, which is dearest to the human heart, to the decision or interested sentences, which may be pronounced against their allegiance, by officers of a foreign government, whom neither the laws of nations, or even that government, will allow to decide on the ownership, or character of the minutest article of property in the like situation."

For this evil, against which the United States had so long, but ineffectually remonstrated, it is obvious *Mr. Jefferson* sought to obtain a permanent and effective remedy, requiring a formal renunciation by treaty, of an alleged right, from the exercise of which, the nation had not only suffered and continued to suffer incalculable injury, but which might become, as it afterwards did, with other provocations, the cause of hostilities. It may be added here, as a part of the history of the times, that the British ministers, when they agreed to the treaty, informed Messrs. *Monroe* and *Pinckney*, that although then engaged in a desperate struggle with France, and therefore not disposed formally "to relinquish the right of search of merchant ships for British seamen," they were willing to make a temporary arrangement, "by which its practice would be essentially, if not completely abandoned, with an assurance, that in their judgment, the United States would be made as secure against such pretensions by the policy which their government had adopted, in regard to this difficult and important question, as it could be by treaty."

The arrangement proposed by the British, and accepted by the American ministers, was, that the right of both parties should be reserved, and the negotiation proceed on the other topics, and after a treaty is formed embracing all

came acquainted with Miss Susan Hyleger, the daughter of a highly respectable merchant, and grand-daughter of the Honourable John Hyleger, of Holland, and for many years Governor of St. Eustatia. This lady, distinguished alike for her beauty and amiable qualities, he afterwards married.

A new field was now opened by our government for enterprising and chivalrous exertion. Our difficulties with France rendered it necessary to organize a small navy for the protection of our commerce, and as we had not at that time a sufficient number of officers regularly instructed in naval duty, it became necessary, in addition to several who had distinguished themselves in the war of the revolution, to make judicious selections from those in the merchant service.

The reputation Captain Bainbridge had acquired for in-

subjects, but that of impressment, Great Britain pledges herself not "to trespass on those rights while the negotiation is depending, and in case she did, in any, the slightest degree, the United States were to be justified in breaking off the negotiation, and appealing to force to vindicate their rights." In a private letter, written several years after by Mr. Monroe to Mr. Madison, he stated, that in his opinion, the arrangement which had been rejected by our government was, with the explanation given at the "time, both honourable and advantageous to the United States, and contained a concession in their favour, never before made by a formal and obligatory act of the government."

Although the war conferred great benefits on this country, in awakening a proper national spirit—in proving the great importance of a navy as a means of national defence—in showing our ability to repel maritime aggressions, still it failed in compelling Great Britain formally to abandon her offensive claim to her "right of search."

The interests of both nations, and the cause of humanity require that the claims of each should be amicably adjusted by a timely negotiation, before events should recur to call into action a practice to which thousands of our citizens have been victims, and which our honour, interest, and sovereignty will compel us to resist to the last extremity. If the settlement of the *principle* was important in the days of Mr. Jefferson, it is certainly not less so at this time.

telligence, decision of character, and bravery, attracted the attention of the secretary at war, then acting as secretary of the navy, who offered him the commission of a lieutenant and commander. He was immediately appointed to the command of the Schooner *Retaliation*, late le Croyable; a prize just taken from the French by Captain Decatur, in the sloop of war Delaware, the father of the distinguished and lamented Commodore Stephen Decatur.

In September, 1798, Lieutenant Bainbridge, in the *Retaliation*, with Captain Williams, in the brig Norfolk, were ordered to cruise in the West Indies, under Commodore Murray, who then commanded the frigate Montezuma. By his vigilance, untiring exertions, and wholesome discipline, Lieutenant Bainbridge soon attracted the attention and received the applause of his superior officers. While cruising off Guadaloupe, in November, 1798, three sail were discovered to the E. S. E. about two leagues distant, thought to be British. About the same time two other vessels hove in sight to the west, to which the United States sloop-of-war Montezuma and Norfolk gave chase.

Though a variety of circumstances led to the belief that the cruisers to the east were British, they unfortunately proved to be French. One of the frigates, the *Insurgent*, commenced a fire upon the *Retaliation*, hoisted the French flag, and ordered her to strike. The flag ship *Volontier* ranged alongside, and ordered Lieutenant Bainbridge to repair on board. These two frigates were from France by the way of *Cayenne*; the former carrying thirty-six guns, the latter forty-four.

When Lieutenant Bainbridge reached the deck of the *Volontier*, he presented his sword, which was politely declined by Commodore St. Lawrence, observing, "You had, sir, no opportunity to defend yourself; I therefore, beg you to retain your sword."

The two frigates then gave chase to the Montezuma and

Norfolk, and as the *Insurgent* was gaining on them rapidly, their capture appeared inevitable. The officers of the *Volontier* had collected on the forecastle to observe the pursuit, and while Lieutenant Bainbridge was contemplating with feelings of distress, the perilous situation of his late companions, he was interrogated by Commodore St. Lawrence as to the size of the American vessels. With great presence of mind, he replied, that the ship mounted twenty-eight twelve-pounders, and the brig twenty nine-pounders. He thus represented the force to be double what it really was, and by this adroit and pardonable deception, he saved the American vessels, as the commodore instantly gave to his consort a signal of recall. The *Insurgent* was thus induced to relinquish the chase when both vessels were completely in her power. When she returned within hailing distance of the *Volontier*, Captain Barro, her commander, observed with great displeasure to Commodore St. Lawrence, that if it had not been for the signal of recall he would have captured both vessels. After repeating the force of the vessels as it had been detailed to him by his captive, the commodore remarked that the *Insurgent* was not able to contend successfully against such an armament. Barro replied, under much excitement, that there was not a gun on board either vessel heavier than a six pounder, and so far from his having any thing to apprehend, he could have captured both in ten minutes. On receiving this information, St. Lawrence turned upon Bainbridge and sternly observed, "Did you not say, sir, that the force of those vessels was such as I have stated?" The latter as sternly replied, that if he could save the ships of his government, by misrepresenting their strength, he would under such circumstances consider himself justifiable in hazarding the assertion. Though evidently annoyed with a *russe de guerre*, which lost him two valuable prizes, as he did not notice the subject farther, and as he treated Lieutenant Bainbridge, as long as he continued his prisoner,

with great kindness and courtesy, it was apparent that he considered the act one of those justifiable deceptions frequently practised in time of war.

The frigates, with their prize, the *Retaliation*, pursued their course to Guadaloupe, and, the following day, anchored six miles from Basseterre, the capital of the island. They carried with them General *Desferneaux*, who had been sent out from France to supersede the famous Victor Hughes, as governor of the island.

The officers and crew of the *Retaliation* were ordered to a loathsome prison; but through the humane intercession of Commodore St. Lawrence, the officers were permitted to remain on board the frigate. After ten days' detention on board the frigate, Lieutenant Bainbridge was permitted to visit the shore, on parole of honour without his uniform, for the purpose of arranging with General *Desferneaux* an exchange of prisoners, in accordance with instructions transmitted to him by Commodore Murray.

The governor promised to liberate the officers and crew, and restore the *Retaliation*, provided Lieutenant Bainbridge, as the representative of his nation, would agree to consider the island of Guadaloupe as neutral, during the conflict between the French Republic and the United States. The general being a man of talents and insinuating address, used all the arts he possessed to overreach our young diplomatist in this, his first negotiation. He stated that many advantages would result from the establishment of commercial relations, between this island and the United States, and that he would enjoy the glory of succeeding in a measure which could not be otherwise than popular in his country. He professed not to consider the officers and crew of the *Retaliation* as prisoners of war, but simply detained from political motives, and intended to treat them as friends and allies.

Lieutenant Bainbridge replied, that his authority extended no farther than to enter into an arrangement for an exchange

of prisoners. Whatever might be the views of the general in regard to their condition, he considered himself, officers and crew, as held not only in captivity, but as being treated with great barbarity. General Desferneaux admitted the truth of these representations, but attributed the irregularity to Victor Hughes, whose orders, he said, could not be revoked, until the deposed governor left the island. After the lapse of a few days, the disgraced governor was sent on board the *Volontier* as a national prisoner.

The prisoners now expected with some confidence an amelioration of their condition, if not an entire release from confinement. Lieutenant Bainbridge waited on General Desferneaux, and informed him that his countrymen were nearly in a state of starvation; and that among them were a number of highly respectable masters of vessels, who were almost daily insulted, beaten, and confined in a dungeon, at the caprice of an unfeeling, drunken, and brutal jailor.

The governor faithfully promised to ameliorate the treatment of the prisoners, and though Lieutenant Bainbridge was not permitted to visit the prison, he could not doubt the sincerity of the pledge which had been made to him. On the twenty-eighth of December, however, he was informed that the situation of the prisoners was even worse than during the despotic and heartless reign of Victor Hughes.

He again called on General Desferneaux, and stated to him that on Christmas night, a few of the prisoners were amusing themselves by singing, when the jailor rushed into their apartment, backed by his myrmidons, and seized twelve of them, most of whom were undressed and in their hammocks, and rudely forced them into a dungeon, in which there was only a small hole, to admit air and a mere ray of light. In this situation they remained nearly in a state of nudity and starvation, with no other bed than the damp cold earth.

The governor permitted Lieutenant Bainbridge to visit the

dungeon, and appointed an officer to accompany him, who was instructed at the same time to inquire into the situation of the prisoners. Bainbridge found his suffering countrymen in a state approaching to nakedness, without any thing to eat except a little raw salt beef, and without even a handful of straw to interpose between their unprotected bodies and the cold muddy ground.

Such a spectacle of misery and horror would have awakened the sympathy of a Nero or a Caligula. Its painful impression on the acute feelings of the sensitive Bainbridge may well be imagined. He returned to the governor, boldly remonstrated against conduct so adverse to humanity, and the modern usages of war, with no other effect than again to receive promises for their future good treatment. No amelioration of their condition took place—even their clothes were withheld from them, which the unfeeling jailor declared he would retain as a punishment for their alleged misconduct.

About the last of December, the *Ponsea* frigate arrived at Guadaloupe from Point Petre, having on board between twenty and thirty Americans, who had been captured by French privateers. These prisoners were compelled to do duty as a part of the crew of the *Ponsea*, in consequence, as alleged by the captain, of the diminution of his force by previous sickness.

As soon as Lieutenant Bainbridge became acquainted with the circumstances, he requested governor Desferneaux to liberate them from a position in which they might be compelled to fight against their countrymen, and to treat them as prisoners of war on the island, until legally exchanged; or, if they were neutrals, as he had intimated in a previous conversation, there could be no justifiable reason for their detention on board a public ship, then within his power.

The intriguing and wily governor, always generous in professions and promises, gave prompt assurances that the pri-

soners should be landed, but in two days afterwards Lieutenant Bainbridge had the mortification to see the *Ponseá* sail for France, without releasing one of his captured countrymen.

The next day, while Bainbridge was still burning with indignation in consequence of being thus trifled with by the governor, the latter sent a polite message requesting an immediate conference. Without adverting to the affair of the *Ponseá*, the governor stated that he wished to make the arrangements which he had previously hinted at, in relation to the restoration of the *Retaliation* and the release of her officers and crew, and regretted that political considerations had prevented an earlier execution of his intentions. He offered to liberate all citizens of the United States, captured previously to his arrival, and expressed a wish that the government of the United States would open a trade with Guadaloupe, where they should be respected as friends and allies.

The governor promised the immediate fulfilment of these engagements, provided Lieutenant Bainbridge would pledge his honour to proceed directly to the United States, and not to capture or molest French vessels in his homeward passage. Bainbridge remarked, that while the prisons of Basseterre were crowded with his fellow citizens, many of whom had been brought into port since his arrival; and American merchant vessels had been condemned as lawful prizes, he must be excused if he doubted his expressed good will, towards either the government or citizens of the United States. The offer, therefore, to restore the *Retaliation* could not be accepted, unless he was permitted to follow the instructions of his government, to capture all armed vessels sailing under the flag of the French republic. The *Retaliation* was now a French prize, being recaptured by two national frigates. He could not therefore take command of a vessel belonging to an enemy, with a pledge to be governed by an enemy's

orders, without disgracing himself as an officer, and rendering himself liable to punishment by a court martial. If he returned in the *Retaliation*, she must be made a cartel, and commanded by a French officer. The governor being no longer able to suppress his exasperated feelings at the independent stand taken by Bainbridge, threatened him with imprisonment if he longer refused to accept his propositions. Lieutenant Bainbridge replied, that no fear of punishment could induce him to abandon the principles which should always govern him as an officer, and he must therefore repeat, that if compelled to leave Guadaloupe, his sense of duty would require him to obey the orders of his own government.

The governor at last determined to fit out a cartel, under the command of a proper officer to convey the prisoners to the United States, and which should be accompanied by the *Retaliation*, with her proper officers and crew. Lieutenant Bainbridge was sent for by General Desferneaux, and informed not only of this arrangement, but that he had prepared despatches to be presented to the President of the United States, in which he assured him of the neutral position of the island; and, as a pledge of his sincerity, he had released the *Retaliation*, with her officers and crew, and all other prisoners on the island, amounting to nearly three hundred.

The governor having made these arrangements, he informed Lieutenant Bainbridge, that he had resolved to compel the immediate departure of the *Retaliation*, and in the event of any act of hostility being committed previously to her arrival in the United States, he would put to death every American prisoner, which might be hereafter captured and brought to the island. To these circumstances, were added, the importunities of the prisoners, among whom were several highly respectable masters of vessels, that the terms proposed should be acceded to, as the only means by which

they could be extricated from the insults and insupportable sufferings to which they were exposed.

As the governor had sufficient force to compel obedience, there was no alternative but to sail as directed, in company with the cartel, under the character of prisoners of war, subjected to the direction of Monsieur Le Blanc, who was also special messenger, and bearer of despatches from Governor Desferneaux, to the President of the United States.

On the return of Lieutenant Bainbridge, his whole conduct was highly approved of by the government; and, as an evidence of it, he was immediately promoted to the rank of master and commander, and ordered to the brig-of-war Norfolk, of eighteen guns, then anchored in the river Delaware, with directions to fit her for active service, with all possible despatch.

The President of the United States communicated the transactions at Guadaloupe to Congress, which, with great unanimity passed the Retaliation Act, which provides, that if any citizen of the United States who shall have been impressed, or forced by violence or threats, to enter on board a French cruiser, "hath suffered death, or hath received other corporeal punishment, or shall be imprisoned with unusual severity, by order of the executive directory of the French Republic, or of any officer or agent acting under their authority, in pursuance of any decree of the said directory, or law of the French Republic; it shall be lawful for the President of the United States, and he is hereby empowered and required to cause the most rigorous retaliation to be executed on any such citizens of the French Republic as have been, or hereafter may be, captured in pursuance of any of the laws of the United States."

Neither this law nor the conduct of Captain Bainbridge seems to have met with the approbation of Mr. Jefferson, then Vice-President of the United States. In a letter to Mr. Pendleton, of Virginia, he observes, that "the captain

(Bainbridge) insisted on being a prisoner, Desfourneaux disclaimed, and so he arrived here with his vessel the day before yesterday. Within an hour after this was known to the senate, they passed the retaliation act."

The *quasi* war, as it has been termed, directed by the acts of May and June, 1798, authorizing the capture of French vessels, which had committed aggressions on our commerce, and of armed vessels of France, was distinguished by the victories of Truxton in the Constellation frigate of thirty-six guns, over the French frigate L'Insurgent, of forty guns, and over La Vengeance, of fifty-four.

It may be difficult, at this distant day, to decide how far the great interests of the nation were affected, by the comparatively unimportant events at Guadaloupe, and the prompt measures of government which succeeded, or whether they contributed to promote, or prevent a reconciliation with France. It appears from the following extract of a letter, from Mr. Jefferson to Mr. Madison, that he considered the transactions at Guadaloupe, and the communication from General Desfourneaux as favourable indications of the dispositions of that government, and as having an important bearing on our relations with them. "The object (says he,) of Le Blanc's mission, who came in the Retaliation, was not, at all, for the exchange of prisoners, but they (the government of the United States,) choose to keep up the idea of a cartel, to prevent the transaction from being used as evidence of the sincerity of the French Government towards a reconciliation. He came to assure us of a discontinuance of all irregularities in French privateers from Guadaloupe."

From the nature of the retaliation act, so promptly passed after Bainbridge's return, and from the cavalier reception which the French agent is said to have received, it may be inferred, that congress and the executive considered the overtures, either as not sincere, or as giving no security against future aggressions; or, what is more probable, they

may have been regarded as partial in their operation, to obtain commercial advantages for a single port, while the trade of the United States would continue exposed to depredations from all the others.

Whatever may have been the motives of our government in the course pursued, Mr. Jefferson did not approve of them, as he considered the mission from General Desfourneaux of a conciliatory character. Such an inference, however, cannot be fairly drawn from the facts disclosed. It is evident, that General Desfourneaux wished to obtain certain commercial advantages for the port of Guadaloupe alone, and had the audacity to offer Bainbridge certain private advantages, provided he would second his views. That such was his aim is fully disclosed in his letter to the President of the United States, published in the papers of the day, in which, after communicating the decree of the Directory of the 13th Thermidor, (12th of August, 1798,) by which, among other measures to restrain privateers, it is provided, that "the agents of the Republic at Guadaloupe, shall take care that the interests of neutrals and allies shall be scrupulously respected; he assured the President that the citizens of the United States may come and exchange their produce for the *productions of the island*, and dispose of their property freely."

This decree had been communicated to Mr. Gerry, the American minister, as early as the third of August, and, of course, must have been received by the American government, before it was transmitted by General Desfourneaux.

On the 29th of the following October, the Executive Directory had decreed, that every individual of a nation, allies, or neutrals, forming a part of the crew of a ship of war of the enemies of France, shall, by that single fact, be declared a pirate, without being permitted to allege that he had been forced into such service. The execution of this decree (passed, it is presumed, in consequence of the impressment

of our seamen by Great Britain) was, however, suspended within a few days after its passage; but leaving in force that of 1797, by which American seamen were to be treated as *spies*, if found on board of vessels belonging to the enemies of France. These extraordinary decrees, the treatment of our prisoners at Guadaloupe, and what Mr. Jefferson, on another occasion, denominates "the atrocious conduct of France towards neutral nations, and, especially, to the United States," tended to widen the breach between the two governments.

Professor Tucker, in his recent life of Mr. Jefferson, admits that the prompt and energetic conduct of our government in consequence for the improper treatment which our envoys received in Paris, and of the prisoners at Guadaloupe, tended materially to awaken a more conciliatory disposition on the part of the Directory. He intimates a doubt, indeed, whether this friendly disposition would have been manifested by France, if her conduct had been less warmly and generally resented.

To claim for the conduct of Captain Bainbridge, and that of the government, in consequence of it, some degree of influence in producing this favourable change in our relations with France, cannot be deemed unreasonable. In this state of affairs, the frigate *United States*, commanded by Commodore Barry, sailed for France, on the third of November, 1799, with new envoys, Messrs. Ellsworth and Davie, who joined Mr. Gerry, the former associate of Messrs. Marshall and Pinckney.

Agreeably to an assurance, previously required of the French Government, the recently appointed envoys were received with all the respect due to their character and country.

After the overthrow of the French Directory, and Bonaparte had succeeded to the government as First Consul, our ministers readily negotiated with him an advantageous peace.

The notice taken of these transactions is more extended, than their intrinsic importance would seem to warrant; but as Mr. Jefferson has given a conspicuous place to them in his correspondence, the writer deems it due to historical truth, and to the memory of a distinguished officer, to give all the facts, which he feels assured, will place the conduct of Bainbridge beyond reproach.

After the Norfolk was prepared for sea, Bainbridge was directed to report himself to Commodore Truxton, who then commanded the frigate *Constellation*, in the West Indies.

While cruising among the Leeward Islands, the Norfolk carried away both topmasts, while in chase of a large three masted, armed schooner recently from Guadaloupe. This accident alone prevented the capture of the schooner.

He proceeded to St. Kitts to repair damages, when he took under convoy a fleet of one hundred and nineteen sail of merchant vessels bound to different parts of the United States. They received convoy to 36° of latitude, north of which, no danger was apprehended, from the cruisers of the enemy. Two days before he abandoned his convoy, he fell in with a French frigate. He immediately made signals for the fleet to disperse, and by pursuing a different course with the Norfolk, invited the frigate to give her chase. By this manœuvre, and superior sailing, the frigate was drawn off so far from the convoy as to afford her, as well as the Norfolk, an opportunity to escape in the night. According to previous arrangements, all the vessels were collected the next day.

Master and Commander Bainbridge returned from this cruise to New York, in the month of August. While absent on this arduous service he had the mortification to learn, that five lieutenants were promoted over him to the rank of Captain. Such a violation of his rights, he could not have anticipated, particularly as his whole conduct had always received the unqualified approbation of the govern-

ment. In vain he remonstrated against this act of injustice, but received no other reparation than an assurance, that such irregularities should not again occur, and that in future, the rights conferred by rank should be duly regarded. Though his pride was so deeply wounded as to incline him to resign, his attachment to the service, and the urgent solicitation of friends, prevented his pursuing a course which would have been greatly injurious to the interest and efficiency of the navy.

Our difficulties with France continuing, Captain Bainbridge was ordered to superintend the repairs of the Norfolk, and to fit her for sea again as speedily as possible. After this duty had been performed, he sailed from Sandy Hook on the 12th of September, 1799, for Cape François, where he received the orders of Commodore Christopher R. Perry, the father of the distinguished Oliver H. Perry, to cruise off Hispaniola.

Touching at Cape François, then in possession of a negro government, he fired a salute, which was promptly returned by the fort, after which Captain Bainbridge waited on General Toussaint, and was received by him with great urbanity. Toussaint accepted an invitation to visit the Norfolk, and General Christophe, another negro general, expressed some surprise at the circumstance, as he [Toussaint] had been repeatedly invited by the commanders of English, French, and American vessels of war, to visit them, but had always declined. Toussaint seemed much gratified by the attentions he received, evinced no little curiosity and intelligence, by his questions in relation to the different objects in the fighting department, which presented themselves to his observation.

Captain Bainbridge was invited, in return, to dine with Toussaint, and was surprised to observe a dinner, not only sumptuous, but served up with much taste and elegance. The entertainment was conducted with great decorum, and

some pretensions to refinement. The dinner party consisted of Bainbridge and forty sable officers, in richly embroidered dresses; and, although they treated him with great courtesy, he inferred from their stiff and lofty bearing, that his presence was not considered by them as any particular compliment. The first toast given, was the health of Toussaint, by General Christophe, the next was that of their guest, given by Toussaint.

After some general conversation, Toussaint asked Captain Bainbridge what disposition he intended to make of the prisoners he had taken from the brigand Riego, who commanded the south part of the island. Without waiting an answer, he signified his willingness to take charge of them, provided Captain Bainbridge would land them. Toussaint was asked, in what manner he proposed to treat them, in the event of their being placed in his power, to which he quickly replied, he would drum them out and shoot them. Captain Bainbridge, of course, declined the proffered services, by assuring Toussaint, that if he were to accede to his wishes, he would incur the risk of being shot himself, by his own government.

In obedience to the orders of Commodore Perry, he sailed in October, from Cape François, and when near Monte Christi, fell in with the Constitution frigate, commanded by Captain Silas Talbot, from whom Captain Bainbridge received new orders to cruise for a time in Turks Island passage, and from thence proceed to the Bite of Leogane, and then appear off Cape Nichola Mole.

On the 31st of October, the Norfolk, while near the N. W. point of Guahani, with her guns housed, and in every possible way disguised, as a merchant vessel, an armed barge was discovered in pursuit. Captain Bainbridge hove his vessel in stays, for the purpose of continuing the deception, and with a pretence to escape. The barge rowing sixteen oars, and filled with men, having gained rapidly on the Norfolk,

commenced a fire with musketry and swivels, and as she neared, hoisted French colours, the officers waved their hats, as a signal for heaving to. When she approached within half gun-shot, suspecting the character of the Norfolk, tacked about and made an effort to escape. Captain Bainbridge anticipating a movement of this kind, and fully prepared, with his guns, immediately rounded to, up ports, and poured a deadly broadside into her, which he inferred produced great execution, from the wild and piercing screams, which issued from the barge. In consequence of its growing calm, however, she escaped to the shore, and was pursued by the boats and destroyed. Two of the crew, were found dead in the boat, and four had been extended on the grass, in the last agonies of death. Others, who had been less severely wounded, were no doubt carried off by their comrades, as they could be traced, by many tracks of blood.

On the 8th of November, off Cape Nicola Mole, the Norfolk captured the French lugger Republican, mounting eight swivels, with her prize, a sloop loaded with coffee, both of which he carried to Monte Christi, where he met the frigate Constitution. The lugger was destroyed, by order of Captain Talbot, and the sloop sent to the United States.

When Captain Bainbridge took possession of the sloop, a spectacle was presented of the most heart-rending character. He found the deck strewn with mangled dead bodies of men, five women and six children, weeping with the wildest distraction over their murdered husbands, fathers, and brothers. The circumstances attending this horrible event, were explained as follows. The sloop sailed from Jefemie, a port in Hispaniola, bound to St. Jago de Cuba. She had scarcely cleared the port, when she was pursued by a brigand barge, filled with armed men from the same port, who boarded, killed all the crew, and male passengers, plundered the vessel of a considerable amount of specie, rifled the pockets of the dead, and commenced insulting the females and

children, when the French lugger hove in sight. The brigands now precipitately fled from the theatre of their murderous brutality, leaving the dead bodies on deck—the sails flapping in the breeze, and the women and children in a state of alarm and despondency, which can be scarcely imagined. In this state she was taken possession of, by the *Republican*, and a few hours afterwards recaptured by the *Norfolk*. Captain Bainbridge, who sent the prize to the United States, received the women and children on board the *Norfolk*; and used his utmost endeavours to assuage their affliction by kind attentions, and affording them all the comforts in his power. After arriving in Havanna, the officers of the *Norfolk*, and some Americans on shore, gave them a sufficient sum to enable them to reach St. Jago de Cuba, their place of destination. The helpless and desponding widows and orphans, now separated from their generous protectors, with expressions of the warmest, and doubtless the sincerest gratitude.

On the 14th, Captain Bainbridge received orders from the navy department, to cruise off Cuba station, and a squadron of three sloops of war, consisting of the *Norfolk*, the *Warren*, and the *Pinckney*, each carrying 18 guns, were placed under his command. A short time afterwards, he chased a French privateer on shore, where she was lost.

Learning that a French privateer was fitting out in the harbour of Havanna, to cruise against the commerce of the United States, Captain Bainbridge determined to prevent her escape, by maintaining a rigid blockade of the harbour. The governor of the island remonstrated with the American consul, against the conduct of Captain Bainbridge, alleging that he had no legal right to cruise so near the shores of the island. Being informed by the consul of this interference of the Spanish authority, he immediately addressed the following letter, in reply to the governor's remonstrance.

"Whatever may have been the ancient custom, with re,

gard to the limits of neutral rights during a period of hostilities, it is now agreed, that distance shall not extend beyond a gun-shot, from the shore. The many captures which the Americans have suffered, within the old-established limits on neutral coasts, without the proper authorities either offering protection, or of even remonstrating against what might be supposed a violation of their neutral rights, that I feel myself warranted in availing myself of the modern custom which has proved so destructive to our own commerce. It is the disposition of my government, as it certainly is my own, to pay every friendly attention to the Spanish flag; nor do I mean in any instance to incur the censure of my own government, to which alone I am responsible for my conduct. The governor of Havana may be assured, however, that *French privateers*, fitted out in *Spanish ports*, will be pursued with not less vigilance than if fitted out in *Guadaloupe*, and nothing shall protect them from capture, but the guns of the fortresses, which defend the harbour in which they are anchored."

Finding it impossible to escape, the commander of the privateer dismantled his vessel, and discharged his crew. Bainbridge not only effectually blockaded this vessel, but with the sloop of war under his command, he afforded the most ample protection to the valuable merchant vessels, passing to and from this port.

Previously to Captain Bainbridge's assuming the command of this station, the French cruisers had depredated on the commerce of the United States, to a vast and ruinous extent. So untiring was his exertion, that for six months, during the most inclement and boisterous season of the year, the squadron under his command was continually cruising, with the exception of ten days, when he was obliged to go into port for provisions. In such high estimation were his services held by the American merchants in Havanna, that when he

was about to depart for the United States, they presented him with the following letter:—

March 10, 1800.

“Having witnessed the ample protection, which you have extended to the American commerce, trading to this island, it would be doing injustice to our feelings, were we to suppress our acknowledgments of the vigilance, perseverance, and urbanity, which have marked your conduct, during your arduous command on this station.

“It must afford peculiar pleasure to the citizens of the United States, to know that a trade which was so recently exposed to frequent depredations, now passes in almost certain security; and we doubt not that they, with us, will do you the justice to acknowledge the essential services which you have rendered to your country.”

He sailed from Havanna in March, 1800, and arrived at the port of Philadelphia early in April: so favourably was his conduct viewed by the President, that he was immediately promoted to the rank of captain, his commission bearing date 2d May, 1800.

CHAPTER II.

Captain Bainbridge ordered to the Command of the Frigate *George Washington*—Carries tribute to Algiers—Carries Algerine Ambassador to Constantinople—Letter to the Secretary of the Navy—Praying of the Mahommedans—Arrival at Constantinople—Boarding Officer never heard of the United States—Salutes the Palace—Algerine Ambassador refuses an Audience—Reis Effendi—Receives the Protection of the British Ambassador—Capudan Pacha—Mr. Zerbe—Invitation to the Admiral's Palace—Requests not to hoist the Algerine Flag while in the Harbour—Prepares to return to Algiers—Perilous State of the Commander at the Dardanelles—Bainbridge's Explanations, by which his Life is saved—Gratitude of the Commander—Letter to the Secretary of the Navy on the subject of a Treaty—Compliment from the Capudan Pacha—His Passports—Edward Daniel Clarke, the Eastern Traveller—Visit to the Thracian Bosphorus—Gardens of Seraglio—Mr. Clarke's Notice of the Frigate *George Washington*—A Notice of an Entertainment—Letter of Introduction from Mr. Clarke—Arrival off Algiers—Savage Demeanour of the Dey—Release of Venetian, Sicilian, and Maltese Prisoners—Conveys French Consul and Family to Alicant—Receives the Thanks of the First Consul of France—Returns to the United States.

IN the month of May, 1800, Captain Bainbridge was ordered to take command of the frigate *George Washington*, for the purpose of carrying the *Tribute*, which the United States, by existing treaties, were bound to send, annually, to the regency of Algiers.

After the *George Washington* had arrived at Algiers, in September, and placed the *Tribute* into the hands of the United States consul, an extraordinary request was made of Captain Bainbridge, by the Dey, that he would carry his ambassador and presents, to Constantinople, in order to conciliate the Grand Seignior, whom he had offended, by concluding a treaty of peace with France, at a time when Turkey and her British ally were carrying on a war in Egypt against the French army, under Bonaparte. He considered it necessary to make every exertion to appease the anger of the Ottoman Porte, and thus avert the chastisement which he so much dreaded. Captain Bainbridge obtained an interview with the Dey, and expressed his regret, that he could not comply with his request without violating his orders. The Dey intimated to him that he must recollect, the frigate was sufficiently in his power to compel an obedience to his demands. Bainbridge, supported by Richard O'Brien, the American consul, who had been, at a former period, a prisoner at Algiers, a sagacious and intelligent man, and well acquainted with the policy of this regency, made a spirited remonstrance against this arbitrary procedure, which was so revolting to his feelings, and which violated every principle of national law, which, however, had no effect, as the determined purpose of the relentless Barbarian remained unaltered. Anchored under the batteries, escape was impossible, and as vengeance was threatened, in case his requisition was further opposed, and as a valuable unprotected trade was in danger, it was thought prudent to yield to his arbitrary demands. Captain Bainbridge has stated, in the subjoined extract of a letter, the reasons which influenced him to pursue this course.

"The Dey of Algiers, soon after my arrival, made a demand, that the United States ship, *George Washington*, should carry an ambassador to Constantinople, with presents to the amount of five or six hundred thousand dollars, and

upwards of two hundred Turkish passengers. Every effort was made by me to evade this demand, but it availed nothing. The light in which the chief of this regency looks upon the people of the United States, may be inferred from his style of expression. He remarked to me, 'You pay me tribute, by which you become my slaves, I have, therefore, a right to order you as I may think proper.'

"The unpleasant situation in which I am placed, must convince you that I have no alternative left but compliance, or a renewal of hostilities against our commerce. The loss of the frigate, and the fear of slavery for myself and crew, were the least circumstances to be apprehended; but I knew our valuable commerce in these seas would fall a sacrifice to the corsairs of this power, as we have here no cruisers to protect it. Enclosed is the correspondence between Richard O'Brien, Esq., consul general, and myself, on the subject of the embassy; by which you will see, that I had no choice in acting, but was governed by the tyrant within whose power I had fallen.

"I hope I may never again be sent to Algiers with *tribute*, unless I am authorized to deliver it from the mouth of our cannon. I trust that my conduct will be approved of by the President; for, with every desire to act right, it has caused me many unpleasant moments."

On the eve of sailing, a difference arose, on the subject of the flag. The Dey insisted, that the colours of Algiers should fly at the main, that of the United States should be carried at the fore. This honour, he stated, had been always yielded to him, by the English, French, and Spanish commanders, who had been employed by him in similar services.* Bainbridge remonstrated in vain, but, at length,

* In a letter dated Algiers, 8th of March, 1817, addressed to a naval officer in the United States, it is stated, that a British frigate was placed at the disposal of Omar, Dey of Algiers, to carry a minister and presents to Constan-

yielded to a demand, which he was induced to comply with, for the same reasons which prompted a compliance with the other arbitrary exactions. Having made no pledges on the subject of the flags, he felt himself at liberty to give precedence to "the star spangled banner," as soon as he was without the reach of the guns of the harbour.

The *George Washington* sailed from Algiers on the 19th of October, 1800. The winds and weather were unfavourable, and the crowded condition of the ship, with the difficulty of managing the Algerines without using severity, a resort to which would not have been proper, rendered the passage as unpleasant as could be well imagined. The interruptions to the duties of the ship by the frequent devotions of the Mussulmans, proved another source of annoyance. Besides other religious ceremonies, they prayed five times a day, and always with their faces directed towards the Kaaba of Mecca. As the ship frequently tacked while engaged in prayer, they were as often obliged to change their position, and such was their scrupulosity on this point, that one of the number was designated to consult the compass in the binnacle to obtain the precise direction. Such manœuvres never failed to excite the merriment, and elicit the gibes of the sailors.

The frigate arrived at Constantinople, after a passage of fifty-nine days, and anchored in the lower part of the harbour, on the ninth of November. Immediately afterwards, an officer was sent from the castle to inquire of Captain Bainbridge, under what flag he sailed, to which he replied, the flag of the United States. The messenger from the castle returned, and observed, that such a nation, as the "*United*

tinople, with a view of conciliating the Ottoman Government, which his predecessor had offended. It appears, then, that the Dey was correct, in stating that services, similar to those rendered by the *George Washington*, had been performed by the vessels of other nations.

States" had been never heard of before by the Turkish Government, and desired that Captain Bainbridge would explicitly state, whence he came. He then reported his vessel as belonging to the "new world" which Columbus had discovered; on hearing which, the messenger repaired immediately to the shore. In a few hours he returned, and for the first time, came on board the frigate, bringing with him a lamb, and a bunch of flowers: the former, as an emblem of peace, and the latter of welcome.

The Sultan manifested a friendly disposition, and desired the captain of the port, to conduct the frigate into the inner harbour. On passing the Sultan's palace, a salute of twenty-one guns was fired, which was received with much satisfaction. The Grand Seignior particularly noticed the stars in the United States flag, and remarked that as his own was decorated with one of the heavenly bodies, he considered this coincidence as an omen of the future friendly intercourse between the two nations. From the similarity of the national emblems, the Sultan thought that there must be some affinity between the laws, religion, and manners of the muselmans and Americans.

The Algerine ambassador reported himself to the Sultan, but was denied an audience until the return of the Capudan Pacha, who was then on a cruise.

Eight days after the arrival of the *George Washington*, a Dragoman came on board, and asked Captain Bainbridge, if he did not know there was such an officer as the Reis Effendi. You have reached this port, he added, without either the knowledge or consent of the Turkish government, and have neglected to report yourself to the proper officer, thereby offering an indignity which requires reparation. The Reis Effendi directs that you appear before him to-morrow morning, at ten o'clock; to which Captain Bainbridge replied, that as he commanded the ship, which carried an ambassador and presents to the Sultan, he felt under no obligations

to hold intercourse, further than an interchange of civilities, with the officers of the Ottoman government. The Dragoman observed, with a significant nod, you had better not disobey the commands which I have delivered. Captain Bainbridge stated to him, that he disregarded both the threats and commands of the Reis Effendi; but thought it prudent, at the same time, to consult, and if necessary to solicit the protection of some of the resident ministers, in amity with the United States. This was the only course left him to pursue, as the United States were not then represented at that government.

Captain Bainbridge accordingly waited on Lord Elgin, the British ambassador, and informed him of the message he had received from the Reis Effendi, and expressed a hope, that the amicable relations then subsisting between their respective governments, would justify his calling upon him for such aid as he might find necessary in case of difficulty with this officer. Lord Elgin promptly offered his friendly services, stating, that as the object of the Reis Effendi was to obtain a bribe, he would send him a message by his Dragoman, which would prevent all further annoyance.

Some few days after these occurrences, the Capudan Pacha, whose office is equivalent to Lord High Admiral, arrived from Egypt, with fifteen sail of the line and a number of frigates. As the fleet entered the harbour, the George Washington fired a salute. At that moment the admiral's ship was taken aback, by a squall from the Thracian Bosphorus, and was saved only from being cast on shore, by the skill and dexterity of her officers. Captain Bainbridge having witnessed the incident, was satisfied that it alone was the cause of his salute not being returned. The next morning Mr. Zacbe, the admiral's private secretary, waited upon Captain Bainbridge, to apologize for his salute not being noticed, and to assure him that it would be returned next day. This explanation was of course perfectly satisfactory, and the sa-

lute was returned, after which Captain Bainbridge was invited to visit the admiral at his palace. He was received with great cordiality, and the admiral immediately remarked, that the Dragoman of Lord Elgin, who was then present, had informed him, that if any inquiries were made concerning the American frigate, he would answer them, as the ship was then under his protection. But the admiral observed, "As the Ottoman government have sufficient liberality to protect strangers, I beg you will place yourself under *my* protection, and accept of me, as your representative to the Sultan." Aware of his great influence, Captain Bainbridge did not hesitate to accept an offer so obligingly made. The Sultan and Capudan Pacha were brothers-in-law, born and educated together in the Harem, and always entertained for each other the strongest friendship. To this circumstance was added a singular regulation of the government, which prevents all officers from having private interviews with the Sultan, except there is a near-relationship subsisting between them. The affinity alluded to, gave to the admiral a commanding influence. The Grand Vizier, or Reis Effendi, is next in rank to the Sultan; but as there was no connexion existing between them by blood or marriage, they were, in some degree, strangers.

Captain Bainbridge was not a little indebted to the friendly offices of Mr. Zache, the private secretary of the admiral, for the marked attentions which he received. This gentleman spoke the English and French languages fluently, was courteous in his demeanour, and very intelligent. He frequently gave evidence of his intimate acquaintance with the history of our country, expressed his admiration of the structure of our institutions, and made frequent inquiries about our illustrious Franklin, with whom he formed an acquaintance in Paris, during our struggle for Independence.

A friendship was thus commenced between the secretary

and Captain Bainbridge, which, for many years, was maintained by a written correspondence.

The Algerine envoy was not accredited, nor were his letters or presents received in consequence of the depredations committed on the commerce of Austria and other nations, in amity with the Porte. Besides, as before stated, the Dey had made peace with France, contrary to the Grand Seignior's injunctions. As a further evidence of his displeasure, the Capudan Pacha requested Captain Bainbridge not to hoist the Algerine flag, while he remained within the Ottoman dominions.

The ambassador at length received a letter from the Grand Seignior, directed to the Dey of Algiers, requiring not only an immediate declaration of war against France, but that he should send him a million of piasters for his daring presumption. Sixty days only was allowed to transmit this despatch to Algiers, and receive an answer at Constantinople, on the failure of which, war would be the immediate consequence.

The ambassador now requested, that the *George Washington* might be immediately prepared to return.

During the whole of the period Captain Bainbridge remained at Constantinople, he received the most obliging attentions from the Capudan Pacha. The circumstance of his taking the frigate under his protection, was considered one of the most distinguished honours which can be conferred on the commander of a foreign vessel of war. The admiral visited the *George Washington* several times, and never failed to remark on the correct deportment of the officers—the discipline and subordination of the crew—the structure of the ship—her cleanliness, and fine appearance.

On one of these friendly interviews, the Capudan Pacha incidentally observed to Captain Bainbridge, that he was not a little surprised to learn, on his return to port, that the American frigate had not been subjected to the usual restraints

at the Dardanelles. It was the first time a foreign armed vessel had reached Constantinople, without having first obtained a "firman" from the Grand Seignior. No blame, however, was attached to Captain Bainbridge in consequence, he being a stranger to the laws and customs of the country; but the governor of the castle at the Dardanelles had been confined, and his execution was only suspended until the sentence received his, [the Pacha's] signature, which would not be withheld.

Captain Bainbridge expressed great unhappiness that he should be, in any degree, the cause of taking away the life of an innocent fellow being, and assured the admiral, that the governor was in no respect even censurable. The admiral smiled and shrugged his shoulders, as if incredulous, but requested him to explain how a frigate could pass the Dardanelles without gross neglect on the part of the commanding officer. Captain Bainbridge said, he understood that it would be necessary for him to remain at the *straits* until permission was received from the Sultan to enable him to proceed to Constantinople. Apprehensive that it might not be given, and unwilling to be turned back after so long a voyage, stratagem was made use of to effect his object, When nearly opposite the castle he made a show of taking in sail, and at the same time commenced firing a salute, which being immediately returned by the batteries on either side of the strait, so enveloped the ship in smoke, that she could not be discerned from shore. At this juncture all sail was immediately made, which enabled the vessel to double the point above, and get out of the reach of the guns before the dense clouds of smoke cleared away. Captain Bainbridge added, that he could not claim the privilege of ignorantly offending against the laws of the empire; but rather than a brave and blameless officer should suffer death for his offence, he felt bound to state the circumstances as they occurred, and thus take upon himself the consequences, how-

ever severely they might fall on him. The Admiral remarked that the statement was so reasonable, and the incident so satisfactorily explained, that the governor, who was a brave, and he now believed to be a faithful officer, should be pardoned, and then seizing Bainbridge by the hand, remarked, with great warmth of feeling, that he should not suffer in consequence of his frank and manly disclosure.

On the return of the *George Washington* down the straits, the fortress at the Dardanelles was again saluted, which being returned, the pardoned governor, who had resumed his command, sent an officer to invite Captain Bainbridge to his house, and expressed, in the most feeling manner, the gratitude due to a gallant stranger for saving his life, at a moment, too, when even hope was abandoned. He added, that the Capudan Pacha had transmitted to him a detailed account of his generous development, so that he was fully aware of the extent of his obligation.

A profusion of fresh provisions and fruits were sent on board the frigate, and no act of courtesy which could be acceptable to the officers was omitted. Renewed assurances of endless gratitude were frequently repeated to Captain Bainbridge, for an obligation which the governor considered could not be repaid.

Previously to Captain Bainbridge's leaving Constantinople, he had a free conversation with the Capudan Pacha, on the subject of a treaty of amity and commerce with the Ottoman Government, the amount of which is reported in the subjoined letter to the secretary of the navy.

"SIR,

"On the 23rd of December, 1801, I was requested by the Capudan Pacha to wait upon him at his palace. I was received in a very friendly manner, and had some conversation respecting the formation of a treaty with the Ottoman Porte; and he expressed a very great desire that a minis-

ter should be sent from the United States to effect it. I informed him, that there was one already named, who, at present, was in Lisbon, and probably would be here in six months. He said, he would write to the ambassador, which letter would be a protection for him while in the Turkish empire, and gave me liberty to recommend any merchant vessel to his protection, which might wish to come here previously to the arrival of the ambassador. I thanked him in the name of the United States, for the protection he had been pleased to give the frigate under my command, and for his friendly attentions to myself and officers. I conceive it to be a very fortunate moment to negotiate an advantageous treaty with this government.

* * * * *

“The Capudan Pacha requested me to take two messengers and land them at Malta, being destined for Tripoli and Tunis, which I have consented to do, conceiving it to be good policy. I think it very probable, that the states of Barbary will shortly receive chastisement from the Turks.”

Captain Bainbridge called, by request, on the admiral the next day, and received the promised letter to the Honourable William Smith, minister plenipotentiary of the United States at the court of Lisbon, with a request that it might be forwarded to him as soon as practicable. The admiral observed to him, “As your ship has been under my protection, she shall receive the honours which are exclusively reserved for my flag. In passing the fortress of Tapaná, it will salute you, which, of course, you will return.” By a regulation, this fortress salutes the Capudan Pacha alone. This compliment was never before extended to a foreign vessel of war, nor even to Turkish vessels, commanded by a less personage than the admiral. He also gave passports for the frigate, which entitled the flag, as

well as commander, to the greatest respect in Turkish ports, and from the ships of that empire.

While Captain Bainbridge was at Constantinople, he became intimately acquainted with the justly celebrated English traveller, Edward Daniel Clarke, who had recently arrived there, by travelling over land from Petersburg, by the way of Moscow and Odessa.

Captain Bainbridge made several excursions with Mr. Clarke into the country in the vicinity of Constantinople, on the opposite Asiatic shore, and up the Thracian Bosphorus, as far as the Black Sea. A German count, a superintendent of the Sultan's gardens, who mixed with the society of Pera, offered to give them an opportunity of visiting by stealth, the gardens of the Seraglio, and the Harem. He invited them also to his apartments, which were close to the gates of the Sultan's gardens.

The writer regrets that Captain Bainbridge's own account of this interesting visit, has not been obtained; but, he often said, that his friend Clarke's was sufficiently correct, except that he had rather magnified the dangers they had escaped. Without imputing to Mr. Clarke, any disposition to exaggerate, the contrariety of opinion on this point may arise from the different estimation which these eminent men may have had of danger. One gentleman may honestly apprehend great peril, where it cannot be perceived by another.

Mr. Clarke, in his travels, notices the visit of the frigate George Washington, to the capital of the Ottoman empire, in such honourable terms, that I feel warranted in transcribing them.

"On the arrival of an American frigate for the first time at Constantinople, considerable sensation was excited, not only among the Turks, but also throughout the whole diplomatic corps stationed at Pera. The ship, commanded by Captain Bainbridge, came from Algiers with a letter from the Dey

to the Sultan and Capudan Pacha. The presents consisted of tigers, and other animals, sent with a view to conciliate the Turkish government, whom the Dey had offended. The messenger from the Dey was ordered on board the Capudan Pacha's ship, who, receiving the letter from his sovereign with great rage, first spat, and then stamped upon it, telling him to go back to his master, and inform him that he would be treated after the same manner, whenever the Turkish admiral met him. Captain Bainbridge was, however, received with every mark of attention."

"The order of the ship, and the healthy state of the crew became topics of general conversation in *Pera*; and the different ministers strove who should first receive him in their palaces. We accompanied him in his long boat to the Black Sea, as he was desirous of hoisting there, for the first time, the American flag; and upon his return, were amused by a very singular entertainment at his table during dinner. Upon the four corners were so many decanters, containing fresh water from the four quarters of the globe. The natives of Europe, Asia, Africa, and America, set down together at the same table, were regaled with flesh, fruits, bread and other viands, while of every article, a sample from each quarter of the globe was presented at the same time. The means of accomplishing this was easily explained, by his having touched at Algiers, in his passage from America, and being at anchor so near the shores both of Europe and Asia."

Before Captain Bainbridge sailed from Constantinople, Mr. Clarke presented him with the subjoined friendly letter of introduction to his brother, a Captain in the British navy. Any relic from so distinguished an individual is worth preserving.

Constantinople, Dec. 23, 1800.

"DEAR GEORGE,

The bearer of this, Captain William Bainbridge, has

been my particular friend, and companion, during my residence here.

"The object of my writing is to introduce you to each other; and I hope you will meet with all that cordiality and friendship which would distinguish a *Rencontre* between Captain Bainbridge and me, if I should again have the pleasure of his society.

"Your affectionate brother,

"E. D. CLARKE."

The George Washington sailed from Constantinople on the thirtieth of December, and arrived off Algiers on the 21st of January, 1801. Determined not to place himself again in the power of the Dey, he anchored the frigate beyond the range of the batteries of the harbour. The Dey expressed much solicitude that she should anchor near to the city, alleging that the distance rendered it inconvenient for the officers to have communication with the shore. This affected interest for the comfort of the American officers was explained in a few days.

Apprehensive that Captain Bainbridge would refuse to return to Constantinople, he was anxious to enveigle him under the guns of his fortresses, that he might again use compulsion. Failing in this scheme, he made a request, through the consul general, that the ship should carry his messenger back to Constantinople, to which Captain Bainbridge replied, in a letter to the consul general, "that the Dey had forgotten the oath he swore, not to make any further demands, after the first voyage was performed. After such a disregard of his solemn declaration, he could not doubt his disposition to capture the frigate, and enslave the officers and crew, if she were again within his power. His first demand had been complied with to preserve peace; every thing had been done which the commander of a ship would be justified in doing to prevent hostilities, and if the Dey was determined to have war; if he were so mad as to make Ame-

ricans his enemies, he would soon regret such rash, impolitic, and unprincipled procedure. Captain Bainbridge had written to the secretary of the navy while at Constantinople, that he anticipated a demand of this character would be made; but gave an assurance of his determination to resist it, believing that the government of the United States would not sanction an act so humiliating.

Previously to sailing from Algiers, Captain Bainbridge borrowed for ballast a number of old cannon, which he was anxious to return. Not wishing to place in jeopardy his own boats, he requested the consul general to send him some ballast in lighters from the shore, and he would send the guns back by the same conveyance.—This precaution so exasperated the Dey, that he not only forbid the consul making use of the *lighters*, but declared that in the event of the guns not being returned, he would immediately declare war against the government of the United States. The consul communicated this information to Captain Bainbridge, and advised him to run the ship into the mole, and deliver the cannon as the only means of preventing a war. Captain Bainbridge positively refused to place himself in the power of the Dey, unless he first received a positive promise that he should not be further importuned on the subject of the second voyage; a pledge which the Dey reluctantly gave.

After having thus complied with the Dey's wishes, he was invited to wait upon him in his divan chamber, where he was received with a scowling and vindictive expression of countenance, which soon burst forth into a rage so ungovernable, as to threaten personal violence. Surrounded as the despot was, by fifty of his obedient janizaries, who are armed and always ready to do the bidding of their master, it occurred to him that unless the Capudan Pacha's "*firman*" would save him, his minutes were numbered.

This paper was accordingly presented, which acted like a talisman, by transforming in an instant the countenance of

a ferocious blood-thirsting tyrant, into a mild, humble, and even crouching dependant. The change of expression was so ludicrously rapid, that even the janizaries noticed it by glances of surprise. The Dey being sensible that his humbled condition was noticed by his guards, dismissed them, and during the remainder of the interview retained near him his Dragoman alone. Now his bearing was less lofty, his words honeyed, and offers of service most liberal.

The following morning the flag staff of the French consul was cut down, and war declared against his government. An instalment of the pacification money, amounting to one million five hundred thousand piasters, was prepared to be sent to the Grand Seignior, with a most humble apology from the mortified and afflicted Dey. He was obliged, besides, to liberate about four hundred Venetians, Maltese, and Sicilians, who had been taken when under the protection of British passports. Although Captain Bainbridge had no other agency in procuring their release, except that of being the bearer of the order from the Sultan, yet such was the extent of the gratitude of the unhappy victims, that they kissed his garments whenever he was met by them, and hailed him as their generous deliverer.

Unwilling to be without some one, on whom he might exercise his cruelty, which seemed to be his predominant passion, the Dey issued orders to have the French consul, and all the citizens of that republic, amounting to fifty-six in number, consisting of men, women, and children, put in irons and treated as slaves. Captain Bainbridge, recollecting the influence of the Capudan Pacha's protection, and the liberal offers of service made by the Dey at their last interview, determined to make an effort to ameliorate the condition of the unfortunate French. Accordingly, the consul general of the United States and himself waited upon the Dey, and endeavoured to convince him of the impolicy of the measure which he was about to pursue, and to impress upon

him their conviction, that an act so inhuman and faithless, would draw upon himself the further displeasure of the Grand Seignior. After a protracted interview, they succeeded in persuading him to change his order to that of expulsion from his dominions; but only upon condition, that they would leave Algiers within forty-eight hours; which, if they failed to do, he should hold them as slaves, until he received fifty-six thousand dollars as a ransom.

M. Dubois de Trainville, the French consul, full of gratitude, cast himself further upon the humanity of Captain Bainbridge; and begged him to take himself and the other French citizens on board his ship, and convey them to Alicant, assuring him, that there was not a vessel in harbour which he could charter on any conditions. Though the United States were, at this time, engaged in war with the French republic; yet, those principles of humanity, which should always animate the generous and the brave, and which national hostilities ought not, nor cannot silence, influenced him to accede to the consul's wishes. The officers of the ship, participating in these noble feelings, made extraordinary efforts to get her in readiness to sail within the stipulated time; believing, that the Dey was anxious for a pretext again to seize his victims, for the dishonest purpose of obtaining a ransom. Their exertions were crowned with success—the passengers taken on board, and, in order to render them as comfortable as possible, Captain Bainbridge gave them the exclusive use of his cabin, and slept himself on the main deck. Such was the hurry and confusion of the departure of the French from Algiers, that they either neglected, or were unable to procure provision for their subsistence; but they had placed themselves under the protection of an officer who, though not abounding in means, had the disposition to supply them, at his own expense, with every thing necessary to their comfort. After a pleasant and short passage they were safely landed at Alicant.

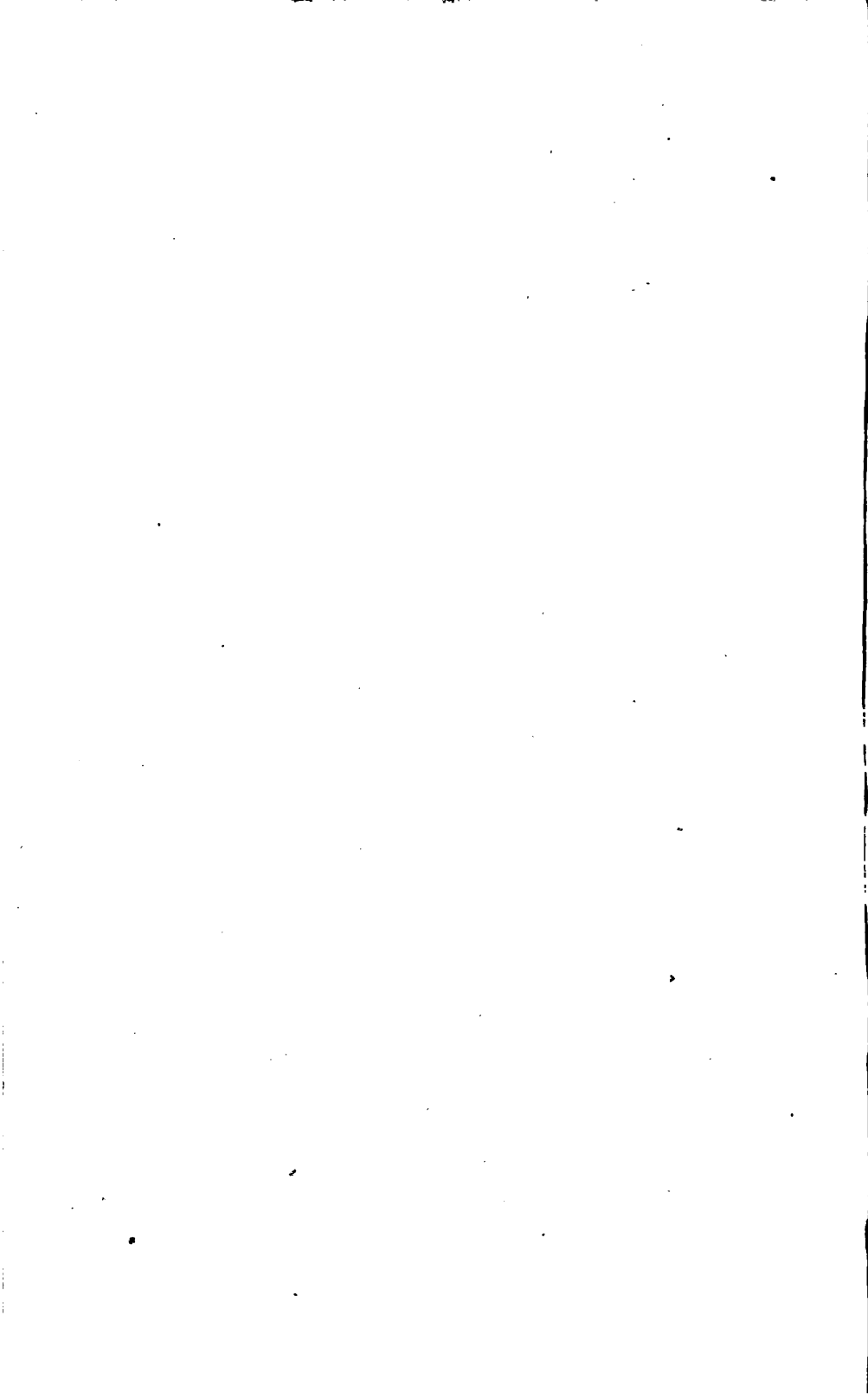
To the generous American officer who had delivered them from the horrors of Algerine slavery, their expressions of gratitude were unbounded, and most affecting.

The French consul represented these noble transactions to the French government, and received orders from Napoleon, at that time *First Consul*, to "tender his acknowledgments and thanks to Captain Bainbridge, for the important services he had rendered the republic, with assurances that such kind offices would be always remembered, and reciprocated with pleasure whenever an occasion offered."

From Alicant, Captain Bainbridge returned to the United States; after which, he proceeded to the seat of government, and reported himself in person to the President, detailed to him all the difficulties against which he had to contend, and was gratified to learn from him, that his conduct received his approbation, and even commended him for the "judicious and skilful manner in which he had discharged his duties, while under the pressure of such embarrassing circumstances."

The humiliating condition in which Captain Bainbridge was placed, arose out of the feeble policy of our government, in stipulating to purchase an immunity from insult to our citizens, and spoliations on our commerce, by paying an annual tribute to Barbarians, whom it could have readily controlled by force. There is no other way of giving complete protection to our citizens, and to our property afloat, than by the cannon's mouth. Dear-bought experience has proved the utter fallacy of Mr. Jefferson's scheme of preserving peace, by pursuing a pacific and upright policy towards all nations. The point is now settled, however, that nothing less than an exhibition of force, and a willingness to exercise it, can maintain, unimpaired, our national rights and dignity.

This cruise did not prove disadvantageous either to Bainbridge or to his country. Such was his discretion, and the manly bearing of his deportment, that he not only conciliated personal friendships, but made a most favourable impression with regard to his government.



CHAPTER III.

Commodore Bainbridge appointed to the Frigate *Essex*—Ordered to Cruise against the Barbary Corsairs—Convoying American Merchantmen—Arrives at Barcelona—Difficulty with the Spanish Naval Officers—Lieutenant S. Decatur threatens to cut off the Spanish Officer's Ears—Consul Willis—American Minister—Mr. Humphrys at Madrid—Mr. Willis' opinion of our Naval Officers—Sails from Barcelona and arrives at Gibraltar—Touches at Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli—Returns to New York, thence to Washington—Engaged in trying Guns at Havre de Grace—Joins the Squadron of Commodore Preble for the Mediterranean, commanding Frigate *Philadelphia*—Capture of the Ship *Mirboha* off the Coast of Morocco—Threatens to hang her Commander—Flogs his Corporal for striking a Prisoner—Sails in Search of a 32 Gun Moorish Frigate—Preble demands Reparation from the Moorish Government—Treaty of Peace—Thanks from the Secretary of the Navy through Commodore Preble.

ON the twentieth of May, 1801, the secretary of the navy directed a squadron to be prepared for sea, consisting of the frigates *President*, Commodore Richard Dale, *Philadelphia*, Captain Barron, *Essex*, Captain Bainbridge, and schooner *Enterprise*, Lieutenant Commandant Sterrett. An order was received by Captain Bainbridge from the secretary of the navy, in the following terms: "Appreciating highly your character as an officer, the President has selected you to

command the frigate *Essex*, and has placed the whole squadron under the command of Commodore Richard Dale, to whose orders he enjoins you to pay strict attention, and due obedience."

The frigate *Essex* was then at New York, whither Captain Bainbridge immediately repaired for the purpose of superintending her equipment. As soon as they were completed, and he had made the necessary preparations for a cruise, he sailed in company with the ships already designated for the Mediterranean, to protect the American commerce, at that time greatly interrupted by the cruisers of the Bashaw of Tripoli. Hostilities were also anticipated from the other Barbary states, from the circumstance of our consuls being treated with insolence, and continually annoyed with importunities for an increase of tribute.

The squadron arrived at Gibraltar on the first of July, where it met two Tripolitan corsairs, one of them a large ship of 26 guns, and a brig of 16, under the command of an admiral. The frigate *Philadelphia* was directed, by Commodore Dale, to watch the movements of the Tripolitan commander, and, if possible, to prevent his leaving the harbour. The *Essex* was despatched to Marseilles, and from thence to Barcelona, Alicant, and other ports down the coast, for the purpose of collecting and convoying the American merchantmen through the straits of Gibraltar.

Captain Bainbridge arrived in the roads of Barcelona, about the first of August, and in obedience to custom waited on the captain general, in company with Mr. Willis, the United States consul. He was welcomed in the style of courtesy so prevalent among Spanish officers. The frigate was much visited by the gentry of the city, who never failed to contrast, in the most flattering terms, her fine condition with that of Spanish vessels of war. These expressions were sometimes made in presence of their own naval officers.

A few nights afterwards, as Captain Bainbridge was re-

turning from the mole to his vessel, he was grossly insulted by the officers of a Spanish Zebec, which was stationed in the harbour as a guard boat. The circumstances are detailed in a letter from Captain Bainbridge to the captain general of Catalonia, and in a communication recently received from the venerable Mr. Willis, who is now on a visit to this city.

When the Essex's barge was within a few fathoms of the Zebec, she was hailed in English by the sentinel, and ordered the officer of her to come on board. The midshipman doing the duty of cockswain, answered that it was the barge of the American frigate, and that the captain was then in her. An officer now stepped forward, and peremptorily ordered the officer of the boat on board. Assurances of the character of the barge were repeated—that captain Bainbridge was on board of her, a circumstance, which indeed they must have well known, as it had passed the stern of the Spanish vessel just before sunset, and as it was a bright moonlight evening, the American Captain who was in full uniform, could be readily recognised. In crossing the bows of the Zebec, the officers used vulgar and abusive language, threatening at the same time to fire. Captain Bainbridge remarks in a letter to the captain general, "I cautioned them against the consequences of firing into an American frigate's boat. They immediately fired several muskets. I still rowed on, they repeated their fire, when I returned alongside the Zebec, and requested to know, if there was an officer on board of her; being answered in the affirmative, I again repeated to him that the boat belonged to the American frigate, and the commanding officer was on board, of which they could not be ignorant, as she had been lying abreast of him all the evening; that the crew were all dressed in white, with hats of the same colour, which ought at once to convince them of the boat's true character.

"Notwithstanding this explanation, the deck officer was

still capable of making use of improper threats, and insisted on my leaving my boat to come on board the Zebec. A compliance with this improper and extraordinary demand would have been so inconsistent with the character of the officers of the American navy, that I did not feel disposed to submit to it, although exposed in an unarmed boat. I then attempted to shove off, when he again threatened, and was in the very act of firing a third time. Disregarding his threats, I again refused not only to go on board, but declined any further explanation than I had already given. Finding me unyielding, he allowed me at length to depart.

"Having thus stated the circumstances which attended the insult offered to the United States, in order that you may investigate the conduct of the officer or officers who were the occasion of it, I shall take the liberty of making some observations.

"1st. If there were any regulations to which ships of war are subject respecting the ceremonies to be observed, and the hour at which the boats should leave the mole, it was the duty of the commander of the port, or afloat, to have notified me thereof, without which how can they consistently expect me to comply with rules I was unacquainted with. On the contrary, I am informed that there are no particular regulations for merchant boats, much less for ships of war.

"2nd. If the officer was justifiable in detaining a national boat and officers, how can he reconcile it to his government, to release them without further proof, than that of the first assurance given him before detention. It is obvious to me, and I presume must be so to every one, who knows the landing-place, and situation in which the Zebec is moored, that the officer must have known the boat, as belonging to the American frigate, and that it was merely out of wantonness, and with a pointed intention to insult, that he exercised the unwarrantable liberty, the particulars of which, I have already detailed to you.

"I have to remind your Excellency, that in future, I shall expect to be governed by such rules as the ships of war of other nations have complied with, and not with the ordinary regulations adapted to merchant vessels. At the same time, I wish to assure you, that knowing it to be the wish of the government of the United States, I shall do every thing in my power, consistent with the honour of the American flag, to cultivate a friendly understanding between the officers and crew of the ship under my command, and the subjects of his most Catholic Majesty.

I have the honour to be

with the greatest respect,

your Excellency's most obedient servant,

W. BAINBRIDGE."

"His Excellency, the Captain General,
&c. &c., of the Province of Catalo-
nia and city of Barcelona."

Previously to writing this letter, Captain Bainbridge waited, personally, on the captain general, and made a verbal statement of these facts.—He was received, not only with great courtesy, but assurances were given to him, that he should have prompt redress, but was requested to make a written statement of the circumstances. So far from receiving the reparation which had been promised, the captain general declined even to reply to him; but wrote to the American consul, Mr. Willis, in which he says nothing about redress, but complains of Captain Bainbridge's uncourteous letter.

The following night some of the lieutenants were returning to their ship, and while passing the Zebec were hailed, obliged to bring their boat alongside, detained for a time in this situation, and insulted by the most provoking language. Lieutenant Stephen Decatur, afterwards the gal-

lant commodore, who held a position so conspicuous in the navy, called for the officer in command, and remonstrated with him against such treatment, but without its producing the least effect. He then informed him, that he would call to see him on board next morning, and then ordered, at the top of his manly voice, the oarsmen to shove a-head.

According to promise, for Decatur was an officer who always kept such promises, he called next morning on board the Zebec, and asked for the officer who had been the previous night in command. He was told that the lieutenant after whom he inquired had gone on shore; "Well, then, tell him that Lieutenant Decatur, of the frigate Essex, pronounces him a cowardly scoundrel, and that, when they meet on shore, he will cut his ears off." Soon afterwards, Consul Willis was requested to call, as soon as practicable, on the captain general on business of pressing importance. When he arrived at the palace, he found this distinguished officer in such a state of excitement, as to be unable to explain the transaction which had so disturbed him, but referred the consul to the commodore of the station. The naval commander then stated, that one of his officers on board the Zebec, had been challenged by an officer of the American frigate, and that energetic means must be employed to arrest it. The captain general then remarked, "The Spanish officers must be kept on board, and I request that you will endeavour to confine the officers of the Essex, also, to their ship." The consul replied, "It is impossible that the American officers should remain on board, as they are preparing for sea; but notwithstanding the provocation used by the officers of the Zebec, I will use all my influence to prevent the duel." Mr. Willis waited on Commodore Bainbridge, who united with him in persuading Decatur not to further molest the Spanish officer. Decatur after some time yielded to the solicitations of his friends, but expressed his determination to chastise him if they ever met hereafter.

The afternoon of this day, the consul was himself insulted in passing this vessel, which he immediately reported to the captain general, who gave him positive assurances, that the officer should be punished, and that similar insults should not be repeated. The promise, in this instance, was strictly enforced.

Captain Bainbridge was not content with this partial reparation, but addressed the American minister, Mr. Humphreys, near the court of *Madrid*, on the subject; enclosing to him, at the same time, a copy of his letter to the captain general, and begged that redress might be demanded of the Spanish government.

Mr. Humphreys made a very spirited representation of the circumstances attending the insults offered by the Spanish officers, to his excellency, the minister of state, Don Pedro Cevallos. The Spanish minister assured Mr. Humphreys, that the affair should be immediately investigated, and if found to be such as had been represented, a proper apology should be offered, and the offending officer punished. The investigating officer found that the facts were such as had been stated by Bainbridge, and made his report accordingly.

His Catholic Majesty directed, that the commanding officer of the *Zebec*, St. Sebastian, should be severely censured, and that he should make an acceptable apology to the American naval commander, and to the United States consul at Barcelona.

Captain Bainbridge was now not a little gratified to find, that his spirited and persevering representations, supported as they were by Consul Willis and the American minister at Madrid, resulted, not only in coercing an apology which was entirely satisfactory, but also, an order from the *Prince of Peace*, to the commanders of the different sea-port towns, to "treat all officers of the United States with courtesy and respect, and more particularly those attached to the United

States frigate *Essex*." This order was faithfully obeyed, as there was no instance afterwards of the officers of our navy receiving improper or discourteous treatment while in Spanish harbours.

Mr. Willis, in his recent communication to the writer, states, that "during all these repeatedly irritating circumstances, Captain Bainbridge acted with great firmness, coolness and dignity, so that all the Spanish officers, with whom I held intercourse at the time, and afterwards, spoke of him in language of the greatest respect, not even excepting the captain general.

"As I had always, before this event, found the officers of the Spanish navy friendly to me, and my countrymen, I was entirely unable to explain the sudden change in the demeanour of the officers attached to the Spanish commodore's vessel, until I was informed, that it had been caused by the continual praise bestowed on the fine appearance of the *Essex*, the manly gentility of her officers, and on the clean and rugged vigour of her crew. The Spanish people, as they were returning from their visits to the American frigate, were obliged to pass within a few feet of the commodore's vessel, and being loud in their praises of every object which they had seen on board the frigate, the Spanish officers, who were very young men, became so irritated, that they determined, by insulting treatment, to force from the harbour the object of their jealousy.

"I was not surprised at the praises bestowed on the American frigate, officers, and crew; for although I had often visited men-of-war belonging to the different nations of Europe, I had never seen one in such complete and beautiful order, nor one in which the discipline seemed so perfect. It has long been a source of gratification to me, that the opinion which I then formed of Captain Bainbridge and most of his officers, has been fully realized. I felt well assured, that if afforded a favourable opportunity, they would

acquire fame for themselves, and honour for their country. Let the achievements of Bainbridge and his first Lieutenant Decatur, attest the correctness of my anticipations."

Having obtained the necessary supplies for the *Essex*, and settled the unpleasant difficulty with the Spanish officers, to his satisfaction, he sailed from Barcelona with a large fleet of merchantmen, which he had collected in different harbours in the Mediterranean, and safely convoyed them out of the straits. He afterwards touched at Gibraltar, where he learned that the Tripolitan corsairs were dismantled—the officers and crews sent over by night in boats, to the Morocco shore, to proceed by land to Tripoli; and that the admiral had taken passage in an English ship to Malta.

In obedience to instructions from Commodore Dale, Captain Bainbridge appeared off the cities of Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli; and during the winter and spring of 1802, cruised in different parts of the Mediterranean, and convoyed our merchant vessels issuing from various ports in safety out of this perilous sea.

Commodore Dale was now relieved of his command, by the arrival of Commodore Richard V. Morris, who immediately assumed the command of the squadron.—From representations made by Captain Bainbridge of the unsafe condition of the *Essex*, Commodore Morris ordered her to return to the United States to receive the necessary repairs.—The *Essex* immediately sailed from Gibraltar, and arrived in New York on the twenty-second of July, 1802.

A short time after the arrival of the frigate, Captain Bainbridge was ordered to proceed with her to the Washington navy yard. The seamen insisted on being paid off and discharged at that port, and became highly mutinous, but the prompt and fearless conduct of Captain Bainbridge subdued them, and restored perfect order. The frigate proceeded at once to Washington, and after a tedious passage

up the Potomac, safely arrived at the navy yard early in August, where she was dismantled and transferred to the commander of the station.

Captain Bainbridge was next ordered to the Cecil furnace, near Havre de Grace, for the purpose of proving about one hundred pieces of ordnance; after which he was permitted to visit his family in Philadelphia.

He was now instructed to superintend the building of the United States brig Syren, and schooner Vixen. On the twenty-first of May, 1803, after these vessels were completed, Captain Bainbridge was ordered to the command of the frigate Philadelphia, of 44 guns, which, with the frigate Constitution, of 44 guns, Commodore Preble, brig Syren, of 12 guns, Captain Steuart, and schooner Vixen, of 14 guns, Lieutenant Commandant J. Smith, Nautilus, of 12 guns, Lieutenant Commandant R. Somers, Argus, of 16 guns, Lieutenant Commandant J. Hull, and Enterprize, of 12 guns, Lieutenant Commandant S. Decatur, were to be immediately fitted for a cruise in the Mediterranean. The whole to be under the command of Commodore Preble.—As a considerable time would elapse before the whole squadron would be prepared for sea, Captain Bainbridge received orders on the thirteenth of July, to proceed with the frigate Philadelphia to the Mediterranean, with orders from the President of the United States, under the authority of an act of Congress to subdue, seize, and make prize of all vessels, goods, and effects, belonging to the Bashaw of Tripoli, or to his subjects, who had declared war against the United States.

During the passage of the Philadelphia up the Mediterranean, she discovered, on the coast of Spain, near Cape de Gatte, a Moorish man-of-war, with an American merchant brig under her charge. The circumstances attending this capture were communicated by Captain Bainbridge, to the secretary of the navy, in the subjoined letter to the navy department,

"I have the honour to inform you that we arrived from the Delaware, to the Bay of Gibraltar on the twenty-fourth of August, sailed again on the twenty-fifth, and on the night of the twenty-sixth, blowing very fresh, fell in near Cape de Gatte, with a ship carrying only her foresail with a brig in company. It being night, and having her guns housed prevented our immediately discovering her to be a cruiser. After repeatedly hailing, found she was a ship-of-war from Barbary, on which information I ordered her boat to be sent on board of me with her papers. I now discovered that she was a cruiser belonging to the Emperor of *Morocco*, and called the *Meshboha*, commanded by *Ibrahim Lubarez*, mounting twenty-two guns, and carrying one hundred and twenty men.

"By not making ourselves known to the officer who came on board, he confessed that the brig in company was American, and had been with them three or four days; was bound to some port in Spain, and had been boarded by them, but not detained. The small sail which the brig was under, induced me to suspect that she had been captured. I therefore sent my first lieutenant on board the ship, to see if there were any American prisoners, who, in attempting to execute my orders, was prevented by the commander. This increased my suspicion, and I sent a boat filled with armed men, to enforce compliance.

"No opposition was offered to this force. They found Captain Richard Rowen, of the American brig *Celica*, owned by Amasa Thayer of Boston, and seven of his crew, who were taken on the seventeenth of August, within two or three leagues of the shore, and twenty-five miles eastward of Malaga, whither they were bound. The Moors had confined them under deck, which they always do, when speaking a vessel, the character of which is not known.

"After making this discovery, I instantly ordered all the Moorish officers and crew on board the *Philadelphia*, for I

had no hesitation in capturing the ship, after such proceedings on their part in violation of the faith of a passport which had been obtained from the United States consul at Tangier, which should have been held sacred.

"Owing to the high wind and sea, it took us the greater part of the night to get the prisoners on board and man the prize, by which detention we lost sight of the brig, and did not discover her until late in the afternoon of the ensuing day, when she was met coming round Cape de Gatte from the eastward, standing close in shore for Almira Bay; but in consequence of light winds, we did not succeed in recapturing her until twelve o'clock at night.

"The Moors confessed that they came out for the sole purpose of cruising for, and capturing American vessels. Myself and officers have made it a point, to treat the prisoners, not only with lenity, but with particular and marked attention, to impress on their minds a favourable opinion of the American character.

"It was very fortunate, that circumstances occurred to create suspicions, or else, she might have passed all our ships. It was certainly a deep-laid plan; but I trust, will be happily frustrated."

Other incidents connected with this affair, were verbally communicated by Captain Bainbridge, which possess considerable interest.

The morning after the capture, the Moorish commander was requested to exhibit the orders which authorized him to capture American vessels, to which he replied, that he had none. To the question, why he had captured the brig, he answered, that as there was some misunderstanding between his master and the United States consul, at Tangier, he was induced to commit this act, in anticipation of the war, which he thought was inevitable. Captain Bainbridge observed to him, that if such had been his intention previously to sailing, he ought not, as an honourable officer, to

have availed himself of the protection of the consul's passports. It now appears, that they were obtained with the view of practising a deception on the United States cruisers. Captain Bainbridge expressed an unwillingness to believe him capable of acting thus dishonourably, and therefore, must presume that this violation of national faith, was committed under the authority of the emperor. The Moorish commander, still persisting in his first denial, Captain Bainbridge turned upon him, and sternly remarked, "Then, sir, I must consider you a *pirate*, and will be obliged to treat you as such." Bainbridge now pulled out his watch, showed *Lubarez* the hour, and pronounced in an impressive tone, that he was about to visit the quarter-deck for half an hour, and if his authority for depredating on the commerce of the United States, was not forthcoming on his return, he would immediately hang him to the main yard as a pirate and malefactor. At the appointed time, Captain Bainbridge returned to the cabin with his watch in his hand, and his determined purpose expressed in his countenance, which caused the Moor, under the influence of much trepidation, to unbutton, in haste, several waistcoats, and from the inside pocket of the *fifth*, drew out the secret document. This paper, which authorized her capture, was sent to Commodore Preble at Gibraltar.

Captain Bainbridge felt extreme reluctance in treating the aged and *venerable* Moor with such harshness; particularly, as he was a man of education, great dignity, and had for many years, represented the Emperor of Morocco, as his minister at the courts of France and Spain. He endeavoured, afterwards, to make him comfortable and at ease, by treating him with the utmost courtesy, and his officers and men with the greatest kindness, which removed all apprehensions.

A few days after the capture was made, the ship's corporal struck one of the Moorish prisoners, for which he was

severely punished in presence of the Moorish officers and crew. On inquiry, it was found, that the Moor had been insolent; but as nothing, in the estimation of Captain Bainbridge, could justify a blow on a prisoner, the corporal was punished as an example to others, though the Moorish commander solicited his pardon. The commander of the recaptured American vessel was permitted to proceed to Malaga, his original place of destination, and Captain Bainbridge, with his Moorish prize, returned to Gibraltar, and placed the vessel and prisoners under the care of the consul of the United States, until the arrival of Commodore Preble.

Captain Bainbridge now sailed for cape St. Vincent in search of a Moorish thirty-gun-ship, which was reported to be cruising off that quarter. Not being able to find the vessel of which he was in pursuit, he returned up the Mediterranean to cruise off Tripoli.

This seasonable check to Moorish rapacity was of great importance, and prevented all further depredations on the commerce of the United States, by that power.

Commodore Preble arrived a few days after these transactions, and being made minutely acquainted with them, proceeded immediately to Tangier, and demanded reparation from the Emperor of Morocco, for the outrages which had been committed. The Emperor gave assurances, that the order given by the governor of Tangier, to the commanders of Moorish vessels, to capture American merchantmen, were unauthorized. As an evidence of his high displeasure, he deprived the governor of his commission, and confiscated his estates—publicly proclaimed the commander as a disgraced officer, and unfeelingly degraded him to expiate his master's criminality. Notwithstanding the disavowal of the monarch, it was generally thought at the time that he authorized these captures; but managed so, that the bad faith fell on the shoulders of his subordinates.

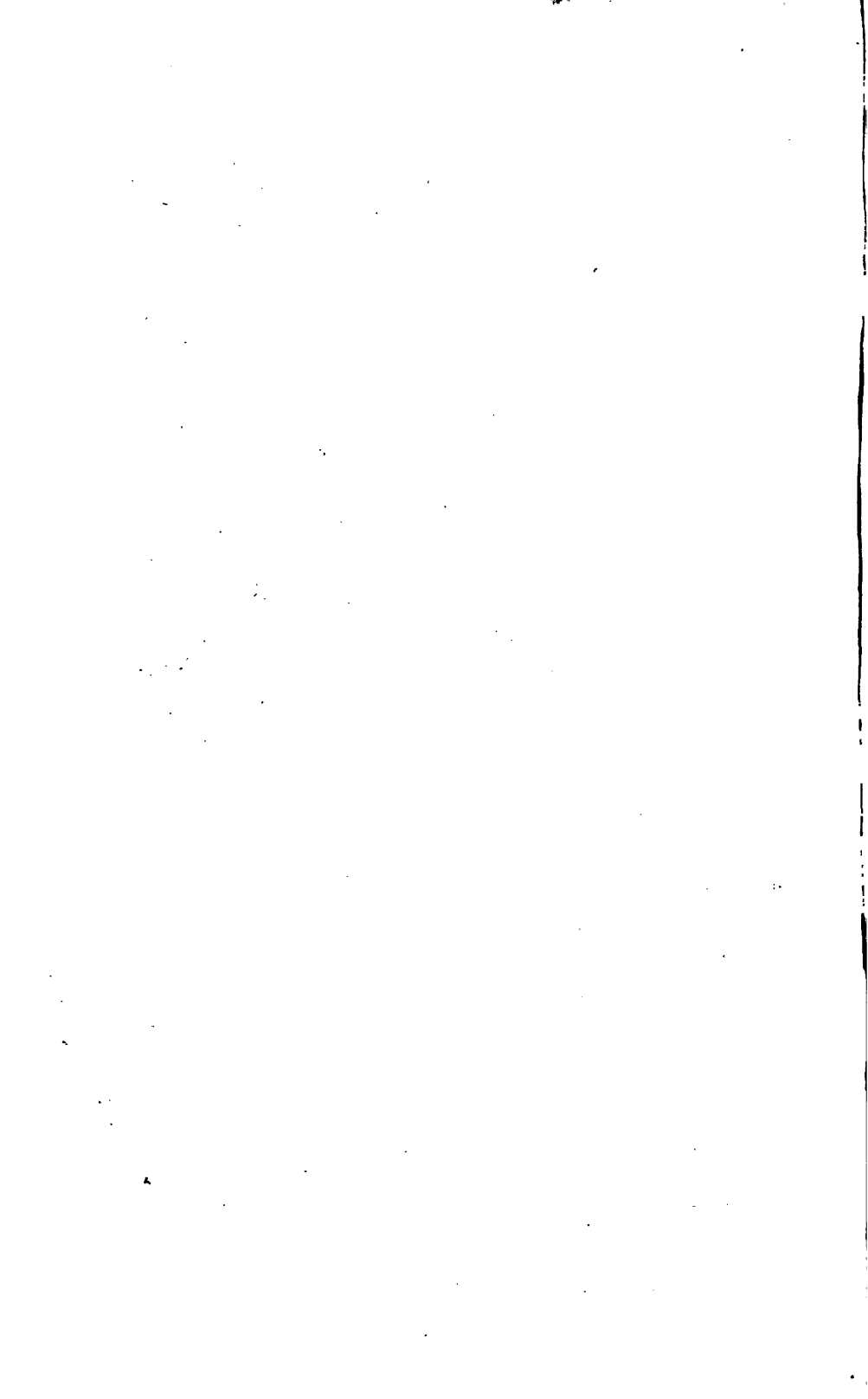
In order to make his reparation perfect, he released an

American ship, detained at Mogador, and ratified the treaty of peace, which had been made between the United States and the father of the present sovereign.

Commodore Preble remarks in a letter to Captain Bainbridge, "By a letter from the navy department, I am commanded by the honourable secretary of the navy, Mr. Robert Smith, to assure you, that the president has approved of your conduct in capturing the Meshboha, and recapturing the prize, and to convey to you his thanks, for the vigilance and foresight exercised by you, in the whole conduct of that business, and for the rapid movements which you subsequently made to arrest the mischief intended us.

"I am also charged to communicate to you the thanks of the honorable secretary. I obey their commands with great pleasure and satisfaction, sensible that you deserve them."

The President of the United States in his message to Congress, of the 5th of December, 1803, speaks highly of the conduct of Commodore Preble; Captains Rodgers, Campbell, and Bainbridge, for their active and useful services during this cruise, and in consideration of the Moorish vessels being restored by the terms of peace, he "recommends to the consideration of Congress, a just indemnification for the interests of the captors, who consented to restore the captured vessels for the public accommodation."—With great unanimity, Congress voted, in obedience to the president's suggestion, the full value of the enemy's vessels which had been restored.



CHAPTER IV.

Arrival off Tripoli—Pursues an Enemy's Vessel—In the Chase, struck on a Rock—Is Captured—Official Letter—Letter of Condolence from her Officers—Mr. Nison, the Danish Consul—His unwearied Kindness—Loss of Books—Supplied by Mr. Nison—Commodore directs the Studies of his young Officers—Summoned to appear before the Minister—Required to write to Commodore Preble to release Tripolitan Prisoners—Refusal—Communicates the Bashaw's Complaint—Carries on a Correspondence with Preble by Cipher and with Sympathetic Ink—Communicates in this Way a Plan for the Destruction of the Frigate Philadelphia—Plan is adopted—Emaciated State of the Crew—Obtains for them Salt Provisions—Jack gets drunk and flogs the Tripolitans—Bastinado—His Affliction—Letter to his Wife from Prison—A Letter of Condolence from Preble.

AFTER the arrival of Captain Bainbridge off Tripoli, he was informed by the commander of a Neapolitan merchant brig, that a corsair belonging to this regency had, the day before, sailed on a cruise. The schooner Vixen was immediately despatched in pursuit.

Whilst the Philadelphia was returning to her station, from which she had been driven by the prevalence of strong westwardly winds, a strange vessel was seen in shore, to which chase was immediately given, when, unfortunately, the frigate struck on a ledge of rocks.

The particulars of this unhappy catastrophe were communicated by Captain Bainbridge, in the following letter, to the navy department.

" Tripoli, November the 1st, 1804,

" On Monday, October the thirty-first, at nine o'clock, A. M., being about six or seven leagues to the eastward of Tripoli, with the wind from the east, discovered a sail in shore. I immediately made sail in chase, and about ten, being within random shot, and perceiving she was armed, began firing into her from the first and second division of the larboard side.

" The chase and fire were continued until half-past eleven, during which time the deep-sea, and hand lead, were kept constantly going, with regular soundings from seven to ten fathoms; hauling off and on accordingly. At this time, it appearing evident that we could neither run the chase on shore, nor cut her off from the harbour of Tripoli, then distant about three or four miles, orders were given to drop the foresail, which had been brailed up a little before, port the helm, give up the chase, and haul off shore; but instead of deepening our water, as we had every reason to expect from the preceding circumstances of the chase, and from the form of the coast, it suddenly shoaled from eight to seven, and six and a half fathoms. The helm was instantly ordered hard-a-port, and the yards sharp braced; but scarcely was the order issued, before the ship struck and run on a reef of rocks, until there was not above fourteen feet water under her fore-channels; her draft before striking, being eighteen and a-half feet aft, and her velocity, between seven and eight knots. The sails were laid a-back, and the forward guns run aft, in hopes of backing her off, which not producing the desired effect, orders were given to stave the water in the hold, and pump it out, throw overboard the lumber and heavy articles of every kind, cut away the anchors, except the larboard bower, and throw over all the

guns, except a few for our defence against the enemy's gunboats, which, by this time, had taken a station on our larboard quarter, and commenced firing upon us. These orders were executed with alacrity and despatch, while the fire of the gunboats was returned with spirit from the few guns which were brought to bear upon them. Owing to the situation of the ship and position of the enemy, only a few carronades and the stern chasers could be used; for which purpose, the stern was cut away. During these defensive operations, the ship drove higher on the rocks, and careened so much, as to render the guns almost entirely unmanageable, and at half-past six, she fell over on her broadside. As a last resource, the foremast, and main-top-gallant mast were cut away, but without any beneficial effect, and the ship remained a perfect wreck, exposed to the constant fire of the gunboats, which could not be returned.

"A council of officers was called, who declared that every possible means had been used, that ingenuity could devise, to get the ship off, and that there was no longer any possible hope of saving her. To strike to any foe was mortifying, but to yield to an uncivilized, barbarous enemy, who were objects of contempt, was humiliating. To lay as a target for them to fire at, and by a vain parade of unavailing courage, wantonly sacrifice the lives of brave men, was cruel, and could not be justified on any principle of war, or humanity. After mature deliberation, having been exposed for more than five hours to the fire of the gunboats, it was unanimously agreed, that the only alternative was to haul down the colours and surrender after having thrown overboard all the small arms, floated the magazine, and scuttled the ship.

"At four o'clock, the flag was struck, and immediately after, the ship was surrounded with the enemy's gunboats and other small craft. Our clothing was all packed up, and hopes were entertained of preserving them; but about sunset,

possession was taken of the frigate, when she was entered at every port, and an indiscriminate plunder took place. The swords, epaulets, watches, pocket trinkets, money, and almost every rag of clothing were taken from the officers; even the cravats round their necks, and outside garments.

"We landed about ten o'clock, near the Bashaw's castle, into which we were conducted, escorted by numerous guards, and finally entered his audience hall, where he was seated in his chair of state, surrounded by his divan and guards, all richly dressed, where we were presented to him as his captives.

"After numerous questions on the subject of our capture, we were conducted to another apartment, where a supper was provided for us. About twelve o'clock at night, we were carried back to the hall and dismissed, in charge of the minister of state, Sidi Mohammed Dgheis, who marched us through the town, to the late American consul's house, which was assigned us as our temporary prison."

Deeply afflicted and depressed, as a patriotic and sensitive mind must be, who grieved at the loss which his country had sustained, of a new and beautiful frigate; and apprehensive that his countrymen might censure him before the true cause of the disaster could be explained, he felt much gratified, and the oppressive weight of his responsibilities lessened by receiving, the following morning, the subjoined letter from the commissioned and warrant officers of the captured ship.

Tripoli, November 1, 1803.

"SIR,

"We, late officers of the United States frigate Philadelphia, under your command, wish to express our full approbation of your conduct, concerning the unfortunate event of yesterday, do conceive, that the charts and soundings justified as near an approach to the shore as we made, and that,

after she struck, every expedient was tried to get her off, and to defend her, which either courage or abilities could have dictated.

"We wish to add, that in this instance as well as in every other, since we have had the honour of being under your command, the officers and seamen have always appreciated your distinguished conduct. Believe us, sir, that our misfortunes and sorrows are entirely absorbed in our sympathy for you. We are, sir, with sentiments of the highest and most sincere respect, your friends and fellow sufferers,—

David Porter,		Robert Gamble,	
Jacob Jones,		Bernard Henry,	
Theodore Hunt,	} Lieut's.	B. F. Reed,	
Benjamin Smith,		James Gibbon,	
John Ridgely, Surgeon.		D. T. Patterson,	
Wm. Osbourne, Lt. Marines,		James Biddle,	
Keith Spence, Purser.		James Renshaw,	
Jonathan Cowdery, } S'geon's		Wallace Wormly,	
Nicholas Hanwood, } mates.		Wm. Cutbush,	
William Knight, Master.		Richard R. Jones,	
William Godley, Carpenter.		Simon Smith,	
George Hadger, Boatswain.		Wm. Adams, Captain's clerk,	
Richard Stevenson, Gunner.		Minor Fountaine, Master's	
Joseph Douglass, Sail-maker.		mate.*	

Midshipmen.

* Nine of these officers are still living—six of them continue in the naval service, and three have resigned. Nearly all have greatly distinguished themselves by their gallant services. Of the three surviving ward-room officers, Commodore Jacob Jones alone remains in the navy, and is now commander of the Baltimore station. Commodore Porter resigned some years ago, and is now chargé des affaires at Constantinople. Dr. Ridgely resigned soon after he was liberated from prison in Tripoli, and is now a distinguished physician and resident of Annapolis, Maryland. The surviving steerage officers are our gallant townsman, Commodore Biddle; Commodore Patterson, commanding navy yard at Washington; Commodore Renshaw, commanding squadron on the Brazil station; Bernard Henry, Esq., who has long been

The day on which Captain Bainbridge received this most acceptable letter, Sidi Mohammed Dgheis, the minister of state, introduced to him N. C. Nissen, Esq., Danish consul, as his particular friend, and the only consul in Tripoli for whom he entertained the least respect. Mr. Nissen received Captain Bainbridge with great kindness—expressed a lively sympathy for his misfortunes, and tendered his services in a tone and manner which satisfied all the American officers that he was entitled to the esteem which had been expressed for him by the Tripolitan minister. He promptly sent from his own house beds and bedding, furniture, and such other articles as their immediate wants demanded. During the whole period of their captivity this benevolent Dane did not for a day relax in the exercise of his influence and personal services to alleviate their condition.

It was almost the daily practice of Mr. Nissen, to visit the prison of the American officers for the purpose of inquiring after their health and comfort. On one of these occasions Captain Bainbridge replied, that time lagged heavily and unprofitably in consequence of the loss of their books, of which they had been deprived when captured. He fully felt the truth of the remark, that "Leisure without books is the sepulture of the living soul."

Without a further remark, Mr. Nissen proceeded to his quarters and immediately sent two large baskets of choice works, in the English and French languages. Supposing that the officers would like to recover their own books, he found, upon inquiry, that for a moderate sum, they could be purchased, and accordingly not only did so, but had them brought to the prison the next day, to the great surprise and

United States consul at Gibraltar, and at present in Philadelphia; and Richard Jones, Esq., an associate judge of the court in Montgomery county, in this state.—Assistant surgeon Dr. Cowdery, is now the senior surgeon of the navy, and is stationed at Norfolk.

joy of the captives.—The purchase money was of course returned to him, and with it a profusion of hearty thanks, which never failed to confound him, and seemed on that account acceptable. He was one of those who liked

“To do good by stealth;”

and in his character and deportment was entirely answerable to the maxim of Lavater, that “the more honesty a man has, the less he affects the air of a saint.”

The officers, through the exertions of the benevolent consul, had now collected a handsome library; and Captain Bainbridge became unwearied in his efforts to render the period of their confinement useful to the younger officers, by personally attending to the cultivation of their minds—forming in them habits of industry and application, and exciting emulation in the acquirement of useful knowledge. The midshipmen had certain hours assigned them for study, and were instructed in the various branches of mathematics, navigation, and tactics. The studies of the senior officers, including himself, were more various, but not less intense and profitable.

Information was thus obtained—habits of study established—sentiments of honour inspired, which have contributed in no small degree to the establishment of the distinguished reputation, which many of his officers have now the gratification to enjoy.

About ten days after the frigate had been captured, a messenger abruptly entered Captain Bainbridge's room, and desired him to proceed immediately to the apartments of the minister of foreign affairs. On his arrival he was informed that the Bashaw had received letters from the commander of the ship *Mesurre*, captured by the John Adams, Captain Chauncey, in which he complained of ill treatment to himself and crew, and that retaliation would be inflicted on Captain

Bainbridge, officers, and men, unless he instantly wrote to Commodore Preble, to release the Tripolitan prisoners then in his possession. Bainbridge replied, that the information which he received must be incorrect, because it is the practice of the Americans, to treat prisoners with kindness and magnanimity, and never with cruelty. He added that while the squadron lay in the bay of Gibraltar, he saw the Tripolitan captain, visiting on familiar terms the different ships with the officers of the vessel in which he lived. He could not write the letter which the Dey demanded, because Commander Preble was his senior; but if he were not, his advice would be useless, as he had lost all power and rank while he remained a prisoner.—He was then desired to state to the commander of the United States squadron, the substance of the report which had reached the Bashaw, to which he offered no objections. This arrangement not proving satisfactory to the Regent, he sent an order that night that the officers should prepare to march to the castle the next morning at nine o'clock.

At the appointed hour, the chief slave driver, with his underlings, came to the prison, and marched the officers through several streets to the common prison which confined the crew of the ship. In this filthy abode, which is ordinarily used for smoking hides, they were obliged to remain without food, except a little black bread and water, which was offered by the seamen, as a part of their own allowance.

In the evening, a visit of condolence was paid to our officers by the admiral, a renegade Scotsman by the name of Lyle, who urged Captain Bainbridge to accede to the Bashaw's wishes. The latter replied with firmness, that as a prisoner, the Bashaw could subject him to the torture, or could lop off his head, but he could not force him to commit an act which is incompatible with the character of an American officer.

Discovering that neither threats, nor harsh treatment, could force Captain Bainbridge from the course which he had determined to pursue, he and his officers were liberated about midnight, and conveyed to their place of confinement.

By a little address, Captain Bainbridge was enabled to maintain a correspondence with Commodores Preble and Barron, during the whole period of his confinement. The Dey gave him permission to communicate his wants by letter to the commodore of the Mediterranean squadron; and while Captain Bainbridge availed himself of this privilege, he took at the same time the liberty to enclose them on a ciphered envelope, and thus transmitted intelligence, which the authorities in Tripoli, would not have permitted him to do. The ciphers exciting the suspicion of the Dey, he directed his minister to withhold papers not legibly written.

By the assistance of Mr. Nissen, another method was devised, which was more successful, because it was not detected. The good consul, as I have already stated, was in the habit of loaning books to our officers, which were always sent and returned in paper envelopes. On these, Captain Bainbridge wrote his communications with sympathetic ink, sent them to Mr. Nissen, who endorsed them to the Danish consul at Malta, for the commander of the American squadron, with directions as to the manner of rendering them legible.

In one of these communications made with sympathetic ink, dated, December the fifth, 1803, Captain Bainbridge informed Commodore Preble, that he thought it practicable to destroy the frigate Philadelphia at her moorings in the harbour of Tripoli. He added, that all the enemy's gunboats were hauled up on shore, and from the ramparts, he had observed, in addition to the castle, only one small battery, with a few awkwardly mounted guns. To accomplish this object he suggested the following plan—

"Charter a small merchant schooner, fill her with men, and have her commanded by fearless and determined officers. Let the vessel enter the harbour at night, with her men secreted below deck—steer her directly on board the frigate, and then let the officers and men board, sword in hand, and there was not a doubt of their success, and without any very heavy loss. It would be necessary to take several good row boats, in order to facilitate the retreat, after the enterprise had been accomplished. The frigate, in her present condition, was a powerful auxiliary battery for the defence of the harbour. Though it will be impossible to remove her from her anchorage, and thus restore this beautiful vessel to our navy; yet, as she may, and no doubt will be repaired, an important end would be gained by her destruction."

Commodore Preble highly approved of the plan suggested, which he submitted to the consideration of several of his confidential officers. By the first opportunity, he wrote to Captain Bainbridge, that concurring with him as to the practicability of destroying the frigate Philadelphia, he was making preparations for that purpose, and that his friend, Lieutenant Stephen Decatur, had volunteered to command the enterprise.

It is a subject of great regret, that neither Captain Bainbridge's letter, nor Commodore Preble's reply to it, can be found. The writer has, however, what will be considered equally good authority, a written statement of the facts, in the hand-writing of Commodore Bainbridge.

In another letter to Commodore Preble, dated from prison, the 26th of March, 1804, he states, "The destruction of Tripoli could be effected, by sending three or four thousand troops, and if it were possible to preserve profound secrecy, as to the expedition, I have no doubt, a much less force would accomplish it. I am clearly of opinion, that if you had about eighteen or twenty ship's boats, you could

destroy all the gunboats, which would be attended with the most favourable consequences, towards a peace."

On the 7th of July, he again writes, "I gave you my opinion, that firing shells into this town, if it was done in the night, would drive all the inhabitants to the country, where there are not habitations to receive them, and by continuing to heave them from time to time, for a month or two, the distress that the people would be in, by being kept out of town, would make them clamorous."

July the 8th, "I believe the Bashaw expects an attack, for he has moved his family to the gardens, and comes in every evening. I hope you will be able to reduce this place; but don't you think, that ship's boats would answer better than gunboats? The former would be more manageable for attack in the harbour, which must be sudden and furious. Cursed fate! which deprives me of sharing in the danger and glory."

As Captain Bainbridge and his officers, were not permitted to have intercourse with the crew, they knew little of their condition. The ever watchful eye of Mr. Nissen discovered that they were out of spirits and emaciated. This arose from their being obliged to labour hard on a diet to which they were not accustomed; consisting of black bread and olive oil. Though this is the usual food of the Tripolitan labourers, yet it was so much less nutritious than the common food of our sailors and marines, that they became so feeble as not to be able to perform their tasks.

The carpenters, blacksmiths, riggers, and sail-makers, were employed in business connected with their trades. The rest laboured on the fortifications.

Captain Bainbridge wrote to Commodore Preble for a supply of salt provision and clothing for the men. These articles being seasonably received, a very rapid improvement took place in both the health and spirits of the crew.

Anxious that the fortifications should be perfected as soon

as possible, the American prisoners were offered money by the Dey, for any extra work which they would do after their daily task was completed. He also promised, that two or three, at a time, might be permitted to walk through the city. With the money obtained by extra work, they would repair to the Jewish shop-keepers, and soon drink a sufficiency of brandy to make them drunk, after which they would return reeling through the streets.

As there is no object so offensive to Musselmans as a drunken man, and as there is no way in which they can express their disgust so strongly, as by spitting in the face; Jack seldom failed to encounter a salutation of this kind, whenever he appeared intoxicated in the street. As sailors are not, however, disposed to submit to insults under any condition, they generally turned upon the Tripolitans and flogged them severely for their insolence. Poor blue-jacket would now be reported to the Guarda Sclava; who being a perfect tyrant in disposition, would seldom fail to order the bastinado, a mode of punishment which is terribly severe, and not unfrequently inflicted on the American crew.

The manner of punishment by the bastinado consists in placing the body of the culprit, horizontally, on his back, tying together his ankles and knees, and placing his legs in a line perpendicularly to his body. They are held in this position by a man placed on either side of him, while a third, with a strong paddle, strikes the soles of his bare feet with all his force. When the blows are numerous, the blood will sometimes be forced through the upper part of the feet by rupturing the skin; swelling and inflammation will follow, which sometimes extend to the knee. Unless the injury thus inflicted is properly attended to, by directing repose in a horizontal position, and by the prompt application of local depletion, suppuration has supervened, which, in some instances, has caused permanent lameness.

When our sailors were subjected to the bastinado, they

were greatly favoured by the humanity of the slave driver under whose immediate care they were placed. The sailor was secured in the manner already described, two of his messmates were harshly and loudly ordered to hold up his legs, while he placed four or five double of straw mats over his feet, which were directed to be held there, while he pounded them so lustily as to be heard some distance from the prison. To render the deception perfect, the sailor or marine was directed to cry at the top of his voice, which advice he of course followed until nearly exhausted. The chief slave driver would think it undignified to be present at the punishment of so humble a prisoner; but never fails to listen on the outside of the building, so as to satisfy himself that the blows had been so honestly inflicted as to produce the necessary degree of pain; of which he judged by the noise of the blows, and the screams of the culprit. After this duty has been performed, the slave driver is praised by his superior as a faithful and honest fellow.

The deception of poor Jack is pardonable, and will not, I hope, be condemned by the moralist.

It may be gathered, from several private letters from Captain Bainbridge to his confidential friends, that during the first few months of his captivity he was a deeply afflicted man.—To none, however, has he unbosomed himself so thoroughly as in the subjoined letter to his fond and sympathizing wife. From this the reader may judge of the depth of anguish, which a military officer may experience, during the tedious period of suspense which elapses between the dates of his misfortunes, and the investigation of the case by the proper tribunal.

“ Tripoli, November 1st, 1803.

“ MY DEAR SUSAN,

“ With feelings of distress which I cannot describe, I have to inform you, that I have lost the beautiful frigate which was placed under my command, by running her a-foul of

rocks, a few miles to the east of this harbour, which are not marked in the charts. After defending her as long as a ray of hope remained, I was obliged to surrender, and am now with my officers and crew confined in a prison in this place. I enclose to you a copy of my official letter to the secretary of the navy, from which you will learn all the circumstances in detail, connected with our capture.

“My anxiety and affliction does not arise from my confinement and deprivations in prison—these, indeed, I could bear if ten times more severe; but is caused by my absence, which may be a protracted one, from my dearly beloved Susan; and an apprehension which constantly haunts me, that I may be censured by my countrymen. These impressions, which are seldom absent from my mind, act as a corroding canker at my heart. So maddened am I sometimes by the workings of my imagination, that I cannot refrain from exclaiming that it would have been a merciful dispensation of Providence if my head had been shot off by the enemy, while our vessel lay rolling on the rocks.

“You now see, my beloved wife, the cause of my distress—my situation in prison is entirely supportable—I have found here kind and generous friends, such as I hope the virtuous will meet in all situations; but if my professional character be blotched—if an attempt be made to taint my honour—if I am censured, if it does not kill me, it would at least deprive me of the power of looking any of my race in the face, always excepting, however, my young, kind, and sympathizing wife. If the world desert me, I am sure to find a welcome in her arms—in her affection, to receive the support and condolence which none others can give.

“I cannot tell why I am so oppressed with apprehension—I am sure I acted according to my best judgment—my officers tell me, that my conduct was faultless—that no one indeed could have done better, but this I attribute, (perhaps in my weakness) to a generous wish on their part to sustain me in my affliction.

I hope soon to hear that your health is good, and although grieved at my misfortune, are yet surrounded by dear and condoling friends, who will in some measure assuage your affliction. Perhaps, too, you will be able to tell me, that I have done injustice to my countrymen—that so far from censuring, they sympathize, and some even applaud me. God grant that this may be the case—and why should it not? The Americans are generous as they are brave. I must stop, my dear wife, for I see I am disclosing my weakness—these are the mere reveries which daily pass through my heated brain.

“I beg that you will not suppose our imprisonment is attended with suffering—on the contrary, it is, as I have already assured you, quite a supportable state.

“Your ever faithful and

“Affectionate husband,

“WILLIAM BAINBRIDGE.

“MRS. SUSAN BAINBRIDGE,

“Perth Amboy.”

About six weeks after the preceding letter was written, Captain Bainbridge received the following kind, and cheering letter, from his friend Commodore Preble. Being well informed of all the facts connected with the loss of the frigate, the opinion of so distinguished an officer, would not only silence every whisper of censure, but would comfort and tranquillize the wounded sensibility of her afflicted commander, during the remainder of his confinement.

“*United States S. Constitution,*

“*Off Malta, 19th Dec. 1803.*

“DEAR SIR,

“I am honoured with your several favours of the 1st, 6th, 12th, and 15th ultimo, with their enclosures. I feel most sensibly for the misfortunes of yourself, your officers, and crew. Your situation is truly distressing, and affects your

friends too powerfully to be described. Your zeal for your country has occasioned the loss of a frigate, and, for a time, of a valuable commander, officers, and crew. I have not the smallest doubt, but that you all have done every thing, which you conceived could be done, to get the ship off; and extricate yourself from the unhappy situation in which you were placed; and I most sincerely regret, that your exertions were not attended with success. The necessity of yielding to an enemy of any description, must be painful indeed; but how extremely so to a nation who know not how to respect the unfortunate. You may rest assured, that in *me* you have a *friend*, whose exertions shall never be wanting in endeavours to relieve you; and in the mean time, you may command such supplies of money for the comfort of yourself, officers, and crew, as you may require. I have only to request your requisition for such supplies—and a certificate, that your officers and crew were obedient to orders, while on board, and that they still continue to be so, as far as their situation will admit of; and to make known unto me, from time to time, for the information of the navy department, any improper conduct on the part of any of them, in order that their pay may be checked.

“I settled a peace with the emperor of Morocco, the fifteenth of October; and the former treaty made by his father, Sidi Mohamet, was that day ratified and confirmed; and all detained and captured property was restored on both sides. This arrangement released a cargo of value belonging to Salem, together with her crew detained at Mogador. The emperor positively denied the orders to capture our vessels. I next went to Gibraltar, made up my despatches for government, and on the nineteenth, the John Adams and New York, sailed with them. On my passage from Gibraltar to Syracuse, I spoke the British frigate Amazon, from the captain of which, I received the distressing intelligence of your misfortune; but no particulars,

which determined me to go to Malta. On the 27th of October, arrived off that place, sent a boat on shore, received your letters, and a gale coming on, I ran for Syracuse, and entered that harbour, where I found the store ship and Enterprise. I have been furnished by the governor of Syracuse, with every convenient accommodation for the deposit of provisions and stores, masts, spars, boats, &c. I have formed an establishment at that place, and made it the general rendezvous of the squadron; although in the winter I shall keep a vessel at Malta for information, and occasionally visit it myself. I am now on my way for a cruise off Tripoli. The weather has been extremely stormy, since our arrival at Syracuse: for many days it blew a gale, and prevented us from putting to sea.

"This letter is left at Malta, as at this season of the year it is possible we may not be able to send a boat on shore at Tripoli.

"I have written to the Swedish and Danish consuls, and endorsed your duplicates.

"I shall lodge funds for you at Malta, and will make such arrangements, that you can receive a regular supply from thence, until I can make a better arrangement at Tunis.

"God bless and preserve you. May you have health, and live to enjoy the smiles of the fickle goddess! I shall write to you often under cover to the Danish consul. Let me know if any other person at Tripoli can be of service to you, that I can, by any means, make your friend. Consul O'Brien recommended to me, a Mr. Bryan M'Donough, at Tripoli. as a person who could be serviceable in any negotiation with the Bashaw.

"Perhaps it will be well to make him your friend. I suppose *cash*, will be necessary for this purpose.

"The first consul of France, the much celebrated Bonaparte, has interested himself deeply in your situation. More of this hereafter.

"Mr. Izard tells me you have grown thin; I fear, my friend, you let your misfortunes bear too heavy on your mind, by which you may destroy your health. Recollect that destiny, and not want of courage, has deprived you of liberty, *but not of honour*. You will, I hope, ere long revisit your native country, and meet the approbation of your fellow citizens, and confidence of your government.

"Conscious yourself of having done your duty, and the certificates of your officers approbating your conduct and exertions on the day the ship was lost, must afford you consolation amidst your misfortunes.

"I have the honour to be,

"with esteem and respect,

"Dear sir,

"Your obedient servant,

"EDWARD PREBLE."

CHAPTER V.

Fast of Ramadan—Biam Festival—Bainbridge and Porter invited to it—Visits in succession the Bashaw, the Prime Minister, Bay of Bengazy, Sidi Mohammed Dgheis—Kind Treatment of the latter—Visits to the Country—Destruction of the Philadelphia, by Decatur—Manner in which her Destruction was effected—Rage of the Bashaw—Prisoners confined to the Castle—Prisoners endeavour to escape—Disappointments—Suffering from confined Air—Conduct of the Guarda Selava—Bombardment of Tripoli by Preble—Gallant Conduct and brilliant Success of the American Frigate and Gunboats—Heroic Conduct of Decatur, and others—Restores the Tripolitan Prisoners—Bashaw submitted Terms of Peace. American Vessel blown up—Bainbridge injured by falling of the Prison Wall—Cowardly Conduct of the Tripolitan Guard—Rencontre between the Prisoners and Guard—Difficulty adjusted—Preble renews his Attack on the Town—Fire Ship—Awful Explosion—The heroic Sommers—Bainbridge is permitted to examine the different Officers—Another Attempt to escape.

DURING the *Fast of Ramadan*, which lasted during a period of thirty days, the prisoners were treated with unusual kindness. This is a period of religious abstinence, during which Mahommedans are enjoined by their creed to impose on themselves many moral and physical restraints; such as hospitality and charity to enemies. "To taste food or drink, to smell perfumes, or swallow spittle, to vomit,

bathe, or even breathe the air too freely, from day-break till sunset, would render this sacred ordinance null and void. But from evening till day-break, the faithful are allowed to refresh nature, though the more scrupulous renew their fast at midnight."

As a reward for these statutory mortifications, the Biaram festival is instituted, which lasts from three to six days, and immediately succeeds the fast. A few of the prisoners were allowed to participate in the enjoyments of the anniversary feast. Captain Bainbridge and Lieutenant D. Porter, were invited to the Bashaw's palace, and were conducted there by the minister of foreign affairs. They were ushered into the Bashaw's audience chamber, and presented to him, while he was seated on his chair of state, surrounded by his children, officers of the divan, and life guards. As all were magnificently attired, and as the chamber was surrounded by ottomans, covered with richly embroidered scarlet cloth, the spectacle was highly imposing. After presentation, the Bashaw rose, and invited the American officers to be seated on his right. Coffee and sherbet were handed to them, after which they were sprinkled with otto of roses, and fumigated with frankincense. These duties were performed by Neapolitan slaves, who constituted a part of his household. After these ceremonies were performed, the officers took leave of the Bashaw, by saluting him in the fashion of their own country.

While passing from this scene of festivity, they observed in the avenue from the castle three beautiful little boys seated on a stone bench, with countenances expressive of extreme sadness. On inquiry, Captain Bainbridge learned that they were the sons of Sidi Hamit, the deposed Bashaw of Tripoli, who was then a proscrip and an exile in Egypt. Not content with usurping the whole power of the Regency, he must grace his festival, by indulging in the paltry mance of exhibiting these children to the parasites around him,

as an evidence of his power, and of his triumph over the fortunes of an injured brother. To the credit, however, of many of the Bashaw's guests, they seemed, when unobserved, to sympathize with the innocent and unhappy captive boys, and did not share in the brutal feelings of the heartless uncle.

Under the arcade of the palace gate was seated the prime minister, with whom the American officers conversed for a short period, and again partook of coffee and sherbet. In this situation he held his *Bed* of Justice. He was chief justice in all civil cases, and was highly esteemed, as well in his official, as in his private character. He is a Russian by birth, though he was quite a youth when first he arrived in Tripoli. He was very polite and affable, wished our officers a speedy restoration to liberty and their country, and gave each of them a nosegay, a mark of respect which is highly estimated by Tripolitans.

This minister was an early associate and follower of the existing Bashaw, and proved himself a soldier of high bearing and undaunted courage, in his wars against his father, brothers, and Ali Baget.

From the prime minister they visited the uncle of the Bashaw, who was then Bey of Bengazy. Having resided many years in Malta, he acquired a correct knowledge of the Italian language, had cultivated an acquaintance with some branches of natural science, and might be with propriety denominated a scholar, and an accomplished gentleman. In receiving the American officers, he manifested great kindness and sensibility. Refreshments were presented as before, and in a similar style.

They were next presented to their tried and good friend Sidi Mohammed Dgheis. In point of splendour, his entertainment exceeded all the others. Tea, coffee, sherbet, choice fruits, and confectionary, were served on rich and massive plate. He treated his guests with great affability,

and on their departure wished them a speedy liberation. After thus feasting, they retired to their gloomy apartments, which formed a strong contrast to the gay and splendid scenes which they had just left—such a contrast, indeed, as was well calculated to produce a revulsion of feeling, not easily to be controlled.

Through the intercession of this amiable Turk, the officers were permitted, early in February, to ride a few miles into the country. To breathe the fresh air, and delightful odour of the orange groves, in exchange for the damp and stagnant effluvia of their confined prison, was, indeed, an indulgence which none can properly appreciate who were differently situated. The American officers were indebted to him, indeed, for a continuation of kind offices, during the whole period of their imprisonment. He was a mediator in all cases of difficulty, between them and the Bashaw, and protected them from many indignities, to which otherwise they would have been exposed. He was a gentleman in feelings and in acquirements, and from his knowledge of the world, knew well what was due to others possessing such qualities; having been ambassador at the courts of England, Spain, France, and Naples.

He frequently obtained permission from the Bashaw for two or three officers to visit him at a time, at his country seat; and very often would send them choice fruits and vegetables from his garden.

The country around Tripoli was beautifully fertile and picturesque. Barley and wheat fields, alternated with groves of date, olive, figs, lemon, orange, apricot, peach, and a great variety of ornamental trees. Their grounds were arranged with taste and elegance—their bowers fancifully decorated, and enriched by luxuriant vines, and every where, indeed,

"By Nature's swift and secret-working hand
The gardens glow, and fill the liberal air,
With lavish'd fragrance."

What delightful sensations must have been awakened in the benevolent moslem, in exercising his influence to relieve even for a short period, his fellow men, from the tedium of their gloomy prison, to

"——— Wander o'er the dewy fields,
Where freshness breathes;"

and to observe them

"Amid the glad creation, musing praise
And looking lively gratitude."

On the 15th of February, 1804, about midnight, the officers were suddenly awakened, by the rapid discharge of heavy artillery from the Tripolitan batteries. They sprang to the windows, and were delighted to observe the frigate Philadelphia, the boasted trophy of the Bashaw, wrapt in devouring flames. This spectacle was particularly gratifying to Captain Bainbridge, as he witnessed in it the accomplishment of his own scheme, which he had submitted some time before to Commodore Preble, and saw removed at the same time the beautiful vessel which he daily grudged to behold in the possession of the enemy.

This brilliant enterprise was achieved by Lieutenant Stephen Decatur, and his brave followers. After Commodore Preble had received Captain Bainbridge's letter, containing his plan for the destruction of the captured frigate, he submitted it to Lieutenant Decatur, who promptly offered to command the expedition. The crew of the United States frigate were piped on deck for the purpose of obtaining volunteers. As usual on such occasions on board United States vessels, twice the number volunteered that were required. Of these, seventy broad-shouldered gallant-looking fellows

were selected, and were ordered to hold themselves in readiness for this service. Among the volunteers was a slender youth of nineteen, who had belonged to the congregation of Friends in Philadelphia, and who for some trifling breach of discipline, determined to encounter the dangers of the sea, rather than the rebukes of the sages of his own society. Being overlooked in the selection made by Decatur, he begged to be allowed to accompany the expedition, but only received the short reply, that the complement was complete. Unwilling to be thus put off, he again solicited Decatur with great eagerness, as he was about to pass over the gangway of the ship, to accept of him as a volunteer. This unusual importunity awakened the curiosity of the Lieutenant, who turned towards the youth, surveyed him with his penetrating eye, and sternly asked him why he was so anxious to go on an enterprise so perilous. The lad blushed, and recollecting, I suppose, his peaceful education, would not say, he wished to engage in battle, but modestly remarked, "I wish to see the *parts*." I need not add, that his services were accepted.

A Tripolitan ketch, which Decatur had captured a few days before, and which was now called the *Intrepid*, was fitted out to carry them to the harbour of Tripoli. The officers selected for the enterprise, were Lieutenants James Lawrence and Joseph Bainbridge, with Midshipmen, Charles Morris* and John Henly. The *Intrepid*, in company with the brig *Syren*, Lieutenant Charles Stewart, sailed from Syracuse on the third of February, and after a tempestuous passage of twelve days, arrived about twilight off their destined harbour. The hour of ten was assigned to meet the boats of the *Syren*, which were to accompany the expedition, but in consequence of the change of wind, the two vessels became separated six or eight miles. As there was danger in delay, Decatur resolved to gain the inner harbour,

* The present Commodore Morris,

Accordingly, at nine o'clock, he increased his sail; but owing to the lightness of the wind, three hours were lost in passing three miles. When within about a hundred yards, he was hailed from the frigate, and threatened with being fired into, unless he immediately came to anchor. A Maltese pilot, who was on board, was directed to say that the anchors were lost. The ketch, when within fifty yards of the Philadelphia, being completely becalmed, Lieutenant Decatur ordered a rope to be carried out in a boat, and fastened to the fore-chains of the frigate. This point being gained, the craft was quickly warped along side, before her true character was suspected by the Tripolitans. Decatur immediately sprang on board, with the gallant midshipman Morris, by his side, quickly followed by the other officers and men. Though a short interval elapsed before the crew succeeded in mounting after them, such was the consternation of the Turks, that they took no advantage of this delay. The brave commander, with his gallant followers, now rushed, sword in hand, on the enemy, who were crowded together on the fore-castle, and soon overpowered them; but not until a vast proportion of them were killed, wounded, and thrown overboard.

Being prepared with matches, and combustibles, each officer ran to such points of the ship as had been assigned to him by previous arrangement, and thus fired her in a number of places at the same time. In a few seconds, she was enveloped in flames. It required great exertions to save the Intrepid from destruction—she was attached to a vessel in a state of fearful conflagration—was fired upon by the water battery and castle at the same time, and had it not been for a favourable breeze, which at that juncture sprang up, escape would have been impossible. In this gallant enterprise, none of the Americans were killed, and only four wounded. It may not be improper to add, that the stripling *Friend*, to whom allusion has been already made, was among

the first to board, and the foremost in the daring charge on the forecastle. He was ever afterwards a prime favourite in the squadron.

Nothing could exceed the rage of the Bashaw at the loss of his valuable prize. He ordered the prison to be immediately surrounded by guards, and interrupted all intercourse between the officers and men. On the first of March, they were conducted under a strong guard to the castle, and confined in a cold and damp apartment, with only one opening at the top, which was grated with iron. Through this aperture alone they received light and air. In this place, they were entombed during the remainder of their captivity. The condition of the prisoners was, however, in no small degree, alleviated by the unwearied attentions of Mr. Nissen, the benevolent Dane.

Seeing no prospects of liberation, the officers determined to make an effort to escape from their uncomfortable quarters. The castle being situated near the harbour, it was thought practicable to reach it, and thus obtain their freedom, provided boats could be procured, to carry them to our squadron in the offing. With this view, Commodore Preble was written to on the subject, requesting the aid of his barges, and designating the place and time of meeting. The difficulty of sending such a letter, was very great, but, by great address, and with the aid of good friends, it was ultimately accomplished. They first attempted to dig a passage under the castle, but had not advanced far, when it was discovered, that the distance which it would be necessary to dig, would extend seventy or eighty feet, and that the outer aperture would be under the water of the bay, which washed the outer walls of the castle. In consequence of the difficulty from this cause, and from the impossibility of concealing perfectly the dirt which was taken from the passage, this scheme was abandoned. Added to this, they discovered that sentinels were placed along shore

for several miles on either side of the city, so that it would have been difficult for the boats to have approached the shore, and next to impossible to reach them, even if the officers had extricated themselves from prison.

During one of the dreary nights of confinement, Captain Bainbridge and Lieutenant Jones determined to explore, if possible, an apartment adjoining to their prison. With this view, they opened a passage through a thick wall, entered the room, and discovered that the floor of the upper story was broken down, above which was a window, which, from its great height, was supposed by the prison keeper to be beyond reach, and, therefore, had not been built up, as was the case with all the others. It was secured, however, with iron bars.

One of the officers, by great exertions, ascended to this window, which he found overlooked the ramparts of the castle. After satisfying himself by this reconnoissance, which was repeated by other officers for several days in succession, it was determined to make an attempt to escape through this window, to pass thence to the edge of the rampart fronting the harbour,—to make fast a rope to one of the cannon, and descend by it into the water, a distance of seventy feet. Their plan then was to swim for a small vessel which was in view—take her by surprise, and trust to Providence to be taken up by our own squadron, which was then cruising in the distance.

None but strong and good swimmers could engage in this enterprise, and the delay occasioned by their descending the rope in succession would increase the risk of discovery. As it appeared, however, the only chance of escape, it was determined to make the attempt. Captain Bainbridge had, at first, resolved to join in this scheme; but perceiving that it occasioned dissatisfaction among those of his fellow prisoners who could not swim, he at once assured them that

he would remain in prison and partake of their danger and suffering until all were liberated together.

They commenced their operations, and in a few days cut off the iron bars of the window, so that they could be removed in a few minutes. Ropes being formed out of their sheets and blankets, and every preparation made for their hazardous exploit, they took off their clothes with the exception of shirts and pantaloons, and at midnight, when all appeared quiet, and the course clear, they cautiously removed the iron bars—passed through the window, and crawled in single file along the rampart, to the point where it was proposed to descend, carrying with them the coils of rope. After they had nearly reached the designated gun to which the rope was to be attached, the relief guard was observed to approach. A halt was immediately commanded, they remained silent and anxious for a few seconds, but believing that they were unobserved, retreated quickly through the window, replaced the iron bars, and returned to the prison in safety.

Though much chagrined at this disappointment, it proved fortunate in the end, as the vessel to which they proposed to swim, had disappeared, and, as they afterwards learned, had weighed anchor early the previous evening, and sailed with the view of eluding the United States squadron. Had it not been for the appearance of the sentinel, they would have descended into the water, would have swam to the vessel, which lay half a mile from the shore, bewildered and exhausted in the dark, and would have either perished in the sea, or shot by the guards if they attempted to reach the shore.

These various unsuccessful efforts destroyed, for a time, all hopes of escape. After a few months had elapsed, however, the spirit of adventure was again awakened by learning that a British frigate was soon expected to bring in, and land a consul. It was again determined to make an effort to escape from the castle, and to swim for the frigate, where

it was hoped they would be received and protected. To accomplish this, it was resolved to cut a passage through the castle and under the ramparts, through which they intended to descend into the water of the harbour, and thence reach the frigate by swimming.

This new enterprise was commenced with great spirit, about the last of June, but while digging under the rampart, a vault was entered, by which the work was so weakened, as to give way, while the guard was engaged in the night, in moving a forty-two pounder. Though the whole superincumbent part caved in, yet it did not awaken suspicion, or lead to discovery. This accident again arrested their labours, but had they been successful, the plan would not have proved successful, inasmuch as the frigate did not even come to anchor, but merely hove to, until the consul was sent on shore, and then proceeded to sea.

These repeated failures induced them to relinquish all further attempts to escape from their irksome confinement.

The foul and stagnant air of the prison, caused, during the hot weather, great oppression and suffering to the prisoners. Repeated solicitations were made to have the apartment ventilated, but receiving no attention, one of the officers opened a part of a window which had been closed with stone and mortar. So soon as Sossey, the Guarda Sclava, perceived the breach, he rushed into the prison, and in a tone of great violence, demanded, who had dared to violate the sacred walls of the prison. After indulging in gross abuse, he bade them recollect that they were in *Tripoli*, and then threatened them with the terrible vengeance of the Bashaw. Captain Bainbridge very coolly replied, that the oppressive treatment which they had received made them fully aware that they were in *Tripoli*. He expressed his entire disregard of any additional severity which the Bashaw could inflict, and his contempt for the minion whose conduct was characterized by such unmanliness.

Lieutenant Porter now stepped forwards, and informed Sossey that he had made the opening. This terrible monster immediately seized the Lieutenant, and while breathing vengeance, he hurried him to a filthy room in a distant part of the castle, where he was locked up. In the course of a few hours he was carried before Sidi Mohammed Dgheis, who received him in his usual kind manner—expressed his grief, that the prisoners were so uncomfortably situated, and lamented that it was not in his power to improve their condition, and added that he entirely disapproved of the brutal conduct of Sossey.

An event soon happened which taught the Bashaw that he was neither so secure nor so powerful as he had fancied himself. On the twelfth of July, 1804, Commodore Preble appeared off Tripoli with a small squadron. On the third of August, at three P. M., commenced a tremendous fire between our men of war, and the Tripolitan castle, batteries, and gunboats. Shot and shells were thrown into every quarter of the city, causing the greatest consternation among the inhabitants. The firing attracted the attention of the officers to the high grated window of the prison, from which they observed with unspeakable pride, three of the American gunboats bear down, in gallant style, on the enemy's eastern division, consisting of nine vessels of the same class. As our vessels advanced, a few well directed rounds of grape and musketry were fired, and as soon as the vessels came in contact, our gallant countrymen boarded sword in hand, and after a fierce contest of a few minutes, they captured three of the Tripolitan gunboats, the other six precipitately fled. At the moment of victory Captain Decatur was informed that his brother, Lieutenant James Decatur had been treacherously shot by a Tripolitan commander, after he had boarded and captured him. The fearless Decatur immediately pursued the murderer, and succeeding in getting alongside just as he was retreating within the ene-

my's lines, he boarded with only eleven followers. Decatur immediately attacked the Tripolitan commander, who was armed with spear and cutlass. In the contest, which for a time appeared doubtful, Decatur broke his sword near the hilt. He seized his enemy's spear, and after a violent struggle succeeded in throwing him on the deck. The Turk now drew from his belt a dirk, and when in the act of striking, Decatur caught his arm, drew from his pocket a pistol, and shot him through the head. During the continuance of this terrible struggle, the crews of each vessel impetuously rushed to the assistance of their respective commanders. Such was the carnage in this furious and desperate battle, that it was with difficulty Decatur could extricate himself from the killed and wounded by which he was surrounded.

In this affair an American sailor, named Reuben James,*

* The reader may be curious to know more of the character and services of this gallant seaman. He is a native of the state of Delaware, and when quite a boy devoted himself to the sea. In 1797, he was captured by a French privateer, and after his liberation determined to ship, hereafter, in men-of-war, by which he hoped to escape for the future, the hardships and sufferings to which prisoners are exposed. In accordance with this determination, he shipped on board the frigate *Constellation*, 1799, commanded by Commodore Truxtun, and was in both the actions which resulted in the capture of the French frigates *Insurgente* and *Vengeance*.

In 1804, he sailed in the frigate *United States* for the Mediterranean, and was a volunteer with Decatur when he burnt the frigate *Philadelphia* in the harbour of Tripoli. He remained under Decatur's command, in the desperate actions with the Tripolitan gunboats, on which occasion he performed the act of noble daring already recorded.

After five years' absence, he returned across the Atlantic, in a common gunboat, with the lamented Captain Lawrence. He rejoined his old favourite Captain Decatur, and remained with him during the whole of the last war. He was in the action which resulted in the capture of the frigate *Macedonian*, and in the severely fought battle between the *United States* frigate *President*, and the British frigate *Endymion*. In this engagement, he received three wounds. He was afterwards in the *United States* frigate *Guerrier*, when she captured the Algerine frigate *Messouda*.

manifested the most heroic self-devotion. Seeing a Tripolitan officer aiming a blow at Decatur's head, whilst he was struggling with his prostrate foe, and which must have proved fatal, had not the generous and fearless tar, who had been deprived of the use of both his hands, by severe wounds, rushed between the sabre and his commander, and received the blow on his head, by which his skull was fractured.

Since the war, he has been almost constantly cruising in the United States vessels in the Mediterranean, West Indies, and Pacific Ocean. To use his own phrase, he has seen "*ten fights and as many skrimedges.*"

In the autumn of 1836, he arrived in Washington, for the purpose of obtaining a pension. At that time, he suffered very much from a disease of his leg, arising from an old musket ball wound, which caused an extensive disease of the bone. In order to save his life, amputation was recommended, to which he assented with his characteristic indifference to either danger or suffering, though he "thought it was not ship-shape to put him under jury-masts, when in harbour." The day after the amputation, his symptoms were so alarming that the old sailor thought that his career was near its termination—seemed quite resigned, and begged the surgeon "*to ease him off handsomely.*"

In order to support his strength, stimulants were recommended to him, and it was asked which he would prefer, brown stout, or brandy toddy, he replied, "Suppose, doctor, you give us both." Poor Reuben has no disposition to join the temperance society at present.

It is a custom in the navy, to give the sailors on certain anniversaries, an extra glass of grog beyond their regular allowance. This veteran felt it his duty to celebrate an unusual number of them. Besides the national anniversaries, he always celebrated his own birth-day—that of his favourite commodore, and those of his "*ten fights and as many skrimedges.*" In this way, he contrived to have many "merry makings."

This gallant old tar has been in the public service near forty years, and has always behaved with the characteristic firmness of a United States sailor. He is an incessant talker—well acquainted with the history of the navy—knows well the character of all the elder officers—calls them his friends, and will allow no one to speak disrespectfully of them.

Dr. Foltz, of the United States navy, who recently amputated his limb, informs me, that he has recovered from the operation, and is now in good health.

The boat commanded by Lieutenant Joseph Bainbridge received a shot that carried away her lateen yards, by which all his exertions to get alongside of the enemy were rendered altogether unavailing. Being within musket shot, however, he directed a brisk fire, which did great execution. Unable to manage his boat without sails, she grounded near the enemy's batteries; but by courage and great exertions, she was extricated from her perilous situation.

Captain Somers being unable to beat to windward, in order to co-operate with Decatur, bore down with his single boat, on the leeward division of the enemy, and attacked within pistol shot, five of the Tripolitan vessels. He maintained the action with great spirit until the other division of the enemy was defeated, when this also precipitately fled within their harbour.

The enemy's boats again rallied, and attempted to surround the American gunboats and prizes. This bold enterprise was defeated, however, by the advance of Commodore Preble, in the frigate Constitution, which, by a few spirited broadsides, effectually covered the retreat of the brave little squadron, which had so signally triumphed. The frigate Constitution, bomb vessels, &c., created great alarm and confusion in the city, by throwing shot, and shells. The frigate was several times within three cables' length of the batteries, and each time silenced those against which her broadsides were directed. These advantages, however, the gallant commodore was unable to secure without more assistance, for so soon as he changed his position, the firing recommenced at the points of the fort, from which the men had been driven.

Availing themselves of the land breeze, which commenced to blow between four and five in the afternoon, the squadron retired from the action. The damage sustained by the Americans was quite inconsiderable, when compared with the apparent danger to which they were exposed. The loss

of the enemy was very great. The three boats captured from the Tripolitans contained one hundred and three men, of whom forty-seven were killed, and twenty-six wounded. Three of their boats were sunk, and the crews buried in the waves. A number of guns in the batteries were dismounted, the city was considerably injured, and many of the inhabitants killed. A great proportion of the inhabitants and all the foreign consuls fled from the city, with the exception of the benevolent Mr. Nissen. So devoted was he to the American prisoners, that he remained at the risk of his life and property, in order that he might contribute to their comfort.

During one of the attacks, a twenty-four pound shot entered the window of a small room in the turret, where Mr. Nissen but a moment before had been examining the operations of the squadron. This shot continues lodged in the wall, and was shown to Commodore Decatur in the year 1815, by another Danish consul. Several shells fell in Mr. Nissen's house, during the bombardment, but as they did not explode, little injury was done.

At the commencement of these operations, the Bashaw surveyed the squadron from his palace windows, and affected to ridicule any attempt which might be made to injure either the batteries or the city. He promised the spectators who were on the terraces, that rare sport would be presently enjoyed, by observing the triumph of his boats over those of the Americans. In a few minutes, however, he became convinced of his error, and precipitately retreated with an humbled and aching heart to his bomb proof chamber.

On the fifth of August, the wounded Turkish prisoners, who had been carefully and kindly treated, were placed on board a French privateer, and sent to Tripoli. The prisoners informed the Bashaw that "though the Americans in battle were fiercer than lions, yet in the treatment of prisoners they were even kinder than Musselmans." The Bashaw applauded the humane conduct of Commodore Preble

on returning the wounded, and observed, that if any Americans similarly injured should fall into his hands, he would treat them with equal kindness.

The Bashaw now offered terms of adjustment, but they could not be acceded to, in consequence of his extravagant demands. Preble determined to quicken his anxiety for peace, by renewing his broadsides. Preparations being completed for another attack, the action commenced at half-past two, P. M., and in two hours the batteries were again silenced, and much injury was done to the city, by round shot and shells. The loss which the Americans sustained in this affair was a serious one. A small vessel was blown up by the passage of a red hot shot through her magazine. There were twenty-eight souls on board of her, of whom ten were killed, and six wounded. The injured, as well as those who escaped unhurt, were picked out of the water by the other boats. Among the killed was her gallant commander, Lieutenant James Caldwell.

On the twenty-seventh of August, the United States squadron again stood into the harbour, and after directing a rapid fire for two hours, silenced the batteries and did much injury to the castle. In this attack a twenty-four pound shot penetrated the castle, and entered the officers' apartment. The ball fell within a foot of Captain Bainbridge's head, and threw on him as he lay in bed, at least a ton of stone and mortar from the wall. He was severely wounded in the ankle by a large stone, and from which he slowly recovered.

During the last attack of the American squadron, the Tripolitan guards fled from their posts on the terrace, behind the wall of an adjoining building. This cowardly retreat excited the gibes and merriment of the American officers. The guard finding that their unmanly attempt to screen themselves from danger was discovered by the prisoners, became ungovernably enraged, threw stones in through the windows, and threatened to fire at them. This assault was promptly re-

turned with the fragments of stone and mortar which had been knocked by the cannon into their apartment. With the view of increasing the Bashaw's prejudice against the prisoners, it was immediately reported to him that they were making an attempt to escape. Sossey, the chief of the slave guard, promptly appeared and threatened vengeance unless the officers conducted themselves more submissively. As Captain Bainbridge could not descend to enter into explanations with this scowling Cerberus, he handed him a note to Sidi Mohammed Dgheis, and observed, that he was very sure that the minister would decide properly on the subject. Captain Bainbridge was informed, in the course of a few hours, that the guard who first threw stones into the prison, was severely bastinadoed, and dismissed from the guard.

All the damages which the vessels sustained in the action of the twenty-seventh being repaired, the Commodore resolved on another attack. Soon after the commencement of the action the enemy's galleys gave way; and the American gunboats, schooners, and brigs, pursued them within musket shot of fort English. Here our little squadron separated, a part of it continuing the attack on the Tripolitan boats and galleys, the remainder boldly engaged the fort. The two bomb ketches threw shells into the town with great effect, but being exposed to a fire from the castle, crown, and mole batteries, were threatened with destruction. Their danger being discovered by the Commodore, he ran his frigate between them and the batteries; and though he was within musket shot of seventy guns which were brought to bear upon him from the batteries, yet so rapidly and effectually did he discharge his broadsides, that he again drove the enemy from their guns and did great injury to the city.

The wind now commenced to blow fresh on shore, which obliged the Commodore to order all vessels to withdraw under cover of the Constitution. The American vessels received considerable injury in this engagement, but strange

as it may appear, not a man was killed. Failing in the last several attacks to capture more of the Tripolitan vessels, in consequence of their unwillingness to venture beyond the protection of their forts, it was determined by Commodore Preble to send in a fire-ship with a view of burning them. For this purpose he fitted out the ketch *Intrepid*, with one hundred barrels of gunpowder, and one hundred and fifty shells in her hold. Trains were so arranged as not to endanger the ship.—Captain Somers, Lieutenants Wadsworth Isreal, and ten men volunteered for the expedition. Two fast rowing boats were selected for the purpose of retreat, after applying the matches. At eight o'clock in the evening on the fourth of September, the *Intrepid* stood into the harbour under convoy, for some distance, of the *Argus*, *Vixen*, and *Nautilus*. When she had nearly reached the point of destination, the fire ship was boarded by two hundred Tripolitans from two galleys. At this instant an awful explosion took place, which hurled to destruction, not only Captain Somers and his brave companions, but the two hundred Turks—not a soul was spared to explain the cause of the disaster. The trains may have been ignited by the wads which were fired by the enemy, or, as some suppose, on Captain Somers perceiving no means of escape, resolved to die, and with his own heroic hands fired the vessel.

On the sixth of September, Captain Bainbridge and several of his officers were permitted to view the dead bodies of their self-devoted countrymen, who had perished by the explosion. Their features were so mutilated and disfigured that none of them could be identified. This circumstance, however, did not lessen the poignancy of the grief which such a spectacle was calculated to awaken. It was sufficient to know, that they were brave Americans who made themselves a willing sacrifice, to effect the release of their captive brethren. Several of our imprisoned officers were allowed the privilege and sad consolation of paying the last

melancholy duty to the remains of their unfortunate countrymen.

After each of these bold and repeated attacks of the dashing Preble, the Bashaw renewed his negotiations for peace. As might be expected from the injury inflicted by our squadron, he gradually lessened in the amount of the ransom which he demanded.

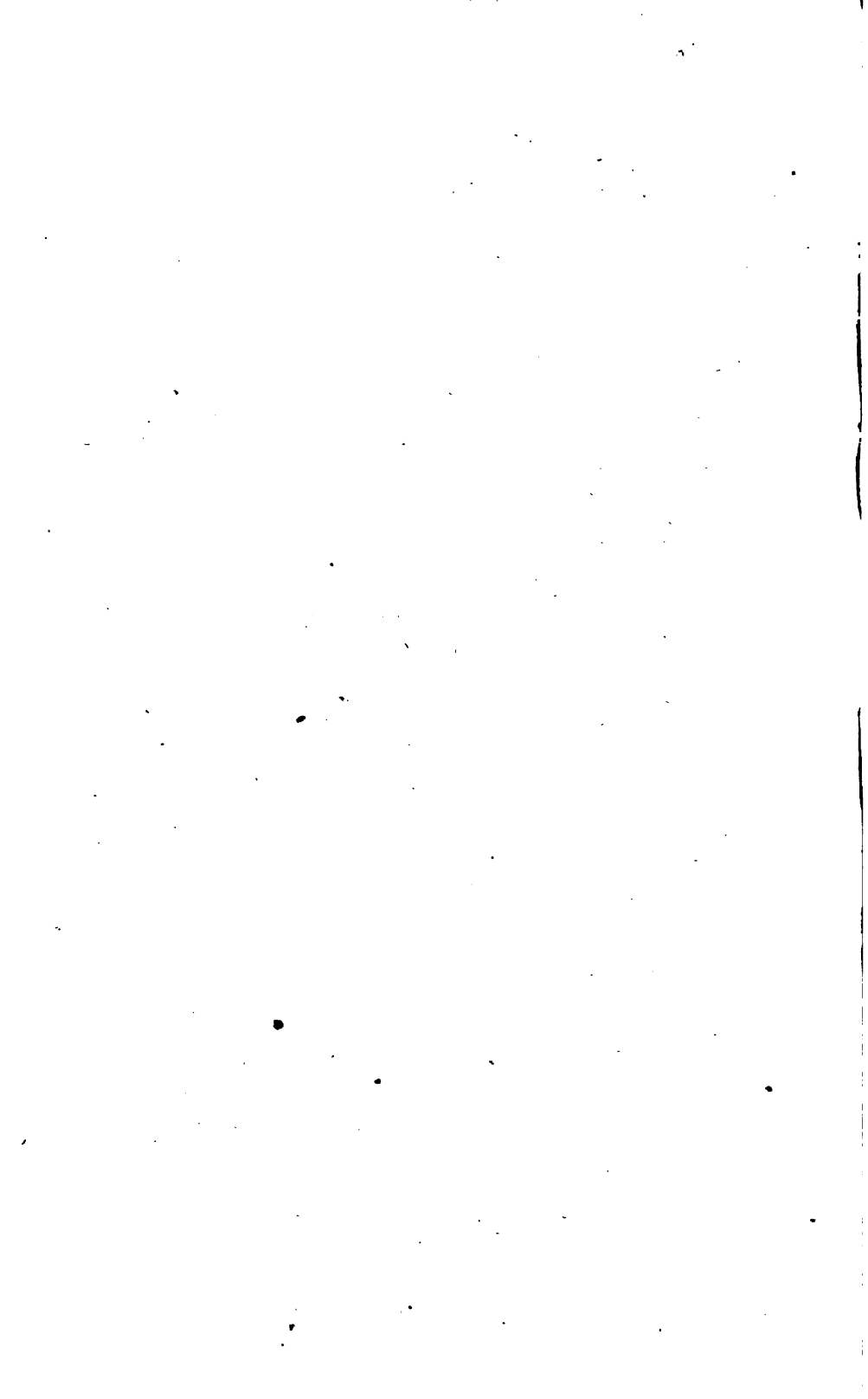
The Tripolitan demands being still thought extravagant, the United States government sent out a larger squadron, under the command of Commodore Samuel Barron, who being senior to Commodore Preble, took command of the whole. Preble relinquished to his young and distinguished friend Captain Decatur the frigate which he commanded, and returned to the United States, where he was most cordially received and honoured wherever he appeared. Before he left the squadron, however, an address was presented to him, signed by every officer of the squadron, expressive of "the very high estimation in which he was held as an officer and commander, and regret that he should have been superseded in a command in which he had acquired so much honour to himself and country."

Commodore Barron's squadron retired to Syracuse, where he was engaged in preparing it for active operations in the spring. Arrangements were also making to procure the co-operation of the deposed Bashaw of Tripoli, with whatever forces he could command and bring into the field.

The captive sailors being uninformed with regard to these movements and preparations, and deeming their liberation almost hopeless, planned a method of escape, which they found means to communicate to their officers. The sailors were to rush in a body into the castle, force open the prison doors of the officers, who were to head them in an attack on the palace, which forms a part of the castle. The Bashaw and his family were to be treated kindly, but secured, and the castle was to be retained possession of, until the arrival of

some of the American vessels. This enterprise was countenanced by Captain Bainbridge and his officers, but the attempt was defeated by the suspicions of the Bashaw. The carpenter, boatswain, sail-maker, and master's mate were in consequence taken from among the crew, and lodged with the officers. The prisoners were rigidly searched for concealed arms—the guards without the castle were increased in numbers, and an additional force placed at all their outposts; so that this scheme, like all the previous ones, failed of its object through causes beyond the control of the intrepid and almost desperate projectors of them.

The scene of these brilliant operations on the water with a view to procure the liberation of the prisoners, changed for the same objects to the land,



CHAPTER VI.

General Eaton forms an acquaintance with Ex-Bashaw of Tripoli—A Plan for the Restoration of the deposed Bashaw and the Release of the American Prisoners at Tripoli—Eaton seeks Sidi Hamet in Egypt—Difficulties he encounters—Traverses the Deserts of Lybia—Organizes the Army—Attack on, and Fall of Derne—Consternation in Tripoli—Arrival of Colonel Lear at Tripoli in the *Essex*—Successful Negotiation—Peace—Prisoners released—Noble Gratitude of the American Sailors—Prisoners sent on board the United States Squadron—Sails for Syracuse—Court of Inquiry—Bainbridge and Officers return to the United States—Kindly received—Enters the Merchants' Service again—Perilous Situation—Takes the Command of the Portsmouth Station—Is appointed to the Command of the Frigate President—Sails for the North of Europe in a Merchant Vessel—Paul Hamilton's Letter—Meets Mr. Nissen at Copenhagen—His Vessel captured and restored through the Agency of Mr. Nissen—A set of Plate given to Mr. Nissen—St. Petersburg—Returns across the Continent in mid-winter—Sir James Rylic—Letters to Baron Steingal, Barclay de Tolly, Baron Nicholn—Visits Allando, Stockholm, Gotheburg—Peril in passing the Orkneys—Arrives at Liverpool—Sails for Boston—Reports at Washington—Remonstrates against laying up the Ships of War—Takes Charge of the Boston Station—War declared—Appointed to the Command of the Frigate *Constellation*—Afterwards to the *Constitution*—Sailed on a Cruise with the *Hornet* and *Essex*, for the Coast of Brazil.

WHEN William Eaton, Esq., consul of the United States, resided at Tunis, he formed an acquaintance with Sidi Ha-

met Caramonly, the deposed and exiled Bashaw of Tripoli; whose younger brother, Joseph Caramonly, the reigning Bashaw, had usurped his regency. A plan was arranged by Sidi Hamet, and Mr. Eaton, to restore the former to his rightful possession, the details of which were submitted to the consideration of the president of the United States. About this period the Bey of Tunis manifested a hostile disposition to the government of the United States, which induced Mr. Eaton to leave the regency and return home. After several interviews with the President of the United States, Mr. Eaton was directed to repair to the Mediterranean, and there to make with Commodore Barron proper arrangements to carry his plans into operation. On his arrival at Syracuse he learned that Sidi Hamet had been driven from Tunis to Egypt by the intrigues of his brother. He immediately followed the Ex-Bashaw thither, in the brig *Argus*, commanded by Captain Hull, in order to make arrangements for their projected campaign, which it was hoped would end in his being restored to the head of the Tripolitan government, and in the liberation of the American prisoners. On Mr. Eaton's arrival at Alexandria, he learned that Sidi Hamet was in upper Egypt acting with the Mamelukes against the Ottoman government. Mr. Eaton with a small escort proceeded to Grand Cairo, but owing to the suspicions of the Mamelukes, aggravated by the intrigues of foreign consuls, he did not succeed in obtaining the interview which he desired. At length, however, by bribes and management he obtained a meeting with the Ex-Bashaw at Demanhour, a village about eighty miles from Alexandria.

On the fifth of February, 1805, they concluded an arrangement, in which it was stipulated that the United States should aid in the restoration of Sidi Hamet to the regency of Tripoli—and in return all the American prisoners and property were to be released, and the expenses of the United States in this expedition should be reimbursed. As Mr. Ea-

ton had been an officer in the army of the United States, and well instructed in military tactics, it was agreed that he should be commander-in-chief of all the forces.

They commenced their march for Derne and Bengazy, through the deserts of Lybia, collected a considerable body of recruits in the vicinity of Bomba, a harbour fifty miles east of Derne, where the United States sloop *Hornet* furnished them with the necessary provisions and munitions of war.

The little army moved westward on the 10th of March, and on the 25th of April encamped on the heights of Derne, having marched fifty-two days through the desert. Two days afterwards the *Nautilus*, Captain Dent, *Hornet*, Lieutenant Evans, all under the command of Captain Hull, of the *Argus*, appeared off the harbour, when a simultaneous attack was made by the land and naval forces, which eventuated in the capture of this city. On the 10th of June, the enemy rallied and made an irregular attack on the town, but were promptly repulsed.

A knowledge of these events, and the expected attack of the United States squadron lying at Syracuse, caused great consternation throughout Tripoli, and stimulated the Bashaw to place the city and harbour in an improved state of defence. New fortifications were erected, old ones repaired, and a large military force collected to garrison the works.

In the midst of this excitement the United States frigate *Essex*, Captain James Barron, appeared off the harbour with a flag of truce, having on board Colonel Lear, the United States consul general for the Barbary powers, with the appointment of commissioner to negotiate a treaty of peace. The next day Commodore Rodgers arrived with the frigates *Constitution*, *Constellation*, and a few smaller vessels. An attempt was now made to open a negotiation, for which purpose the Spanish consul was appointed the agent of the Bashaw, and was directed to hold the conference on board the frigate

Constitution. This consul's enmity to the United States had been manifested on several occasions, and therefore Captain Bainbridge was anxious to apprise Commodore Rodgers and Colonel Lear of his true character. Believing that the Tripolitan minister of foreign affairs was anxious for the restoration of peace, it was proposed to him to allow Captain Bainbridge to visit the Constitution frigate in order to have an interview with the American negotiators on the subject of peace. The minister having little confidence in the Spanish consul's disposition to conclude a treaty, readily admitted the propriety of the measure, but expressed strong doubts whether the Bashaw would consent to the proposal. He promised, however, to submit the proposition to the regent, provided Captain Bainbridge would obtain the pledge of his fellow prisoners for his safe return. They accordingly drafted a document pledging their lives that their commander would act in strict conformity with the permission he might receive, and return in due time to prison. If he failed in thus acting, they expressed a willingness to submit to any punishment which the Bashaw might think proper to inflict.

On the minister's making the proposition to the Bashaw, he exclaimed, "Are you so mad as to believe that Captain Bainbridge will return after getting on board a vessel of his own nation, simply, because he has made a declaration to that effect?" He added, that he valued Captain Bainbridge as a prisoner more than all his officers, and did not therefore place a high value on their pledge. From long association with Christian officers in different parts of Europe, Sidi Mohammed Dgheis well knew that the pledge of a parole of honour was seldom if ever broken. Having contracted a friendship for Captain Bainbridge, and having, besides, the fullest confidence in his honour, he observed, with great feeling to the Bashaw, "You know that I am a Tripolitan by birth—that all my affections are for my own country, and that I would propose no measure by which it would be injured.

Grant Bainbridge's request, and I will leave my son in your castle; and in the event of his not returning according to promise, take off the head of him, whose life I value more than my own."

With these pledges the Bashaw yielded the desired permission, though such a privilege was unprecedented in the annals of Barbary. The whole affair appeared so incomprehensible to Tripolitans, that few of them could believe that Captain Bainbridge would ever return. Even the Bashaw could scarcely persuade himself that any Christian would thus keep his word and return to captivity.

On the first of June, 1805, Captain Bainbridge left Tripoli, and spent the day with the officers of the squadron. In the evening he returned with slender hopes for the success of the negotiation. He waited on his good friend Sidi Mohammed Dgheis, who proceeded with him direct to the palace. It being late at night before he reached the shore, the Bashaw expressed surprise at seeing him, for he had relinquished all hope of his return, and had severely rebuked his minister for inducing him to place the least reliance on the word of a "Christian dog."

Captain Bainbridge reported to the Bashaw the terms on which the government of the United States proposed to treat, but which he at once rejected. A special divan was, however, called the next day, and after deliberation Mr. Nissen, the Danish consul, was selected to renew the negotiation, and for this purpose went on board the United States frigate *Constitution*, to confer with Commodore Rodgers and Colonel Lear, who agreed on the basis of a treaty.

On the third of June, a council was convened by order of the Bashaw to consider the items of the treaty, and to decide whether it should be rejected or ratified. Captain Bainbridge and Mr. Nissen were invited to be present during the discussion. They were conducted into the splendid divan

chamber, where the members of the council were arranged in the form of a crescent, the prime minister being on the right, and the minister of foreign affairs on the left of the regent. After inviting the two guests to be seated, the Bashaw remarked to Captain Bainbridge that if he were acquainted with the French language, he would be able to understand the debates on the subject of the treaty. In thus admitting you into my private divan, you have received an honour never before conferred on a prisoner in Barbary. The Bashaw, who presided with commanding dignity, submitted the question of "peace or war with the United States." Without taking the question, it was soon discovered that six of the council were in favour of rejecting the treaty, while two, Sidi Mohammed Dgheis, and the Rais of Marine were in favour of its acceptance. Each addressed his sovereign with decorum and eloquence, and after the debate had continued some time, two of the members changed their opinions, in favour of peace, when of course they became equally divided.

The Bashaw now remarked, "Four of you are for peace, and four for war; which party am I to satisfy?—how shall I act." Sidi Mohammed Dgheis suddenly rose before the Bashaw had time to express his ultimatum, and observed to him, "You are our prince and master—you have not called us here to dictate to you, but to hear our opinions. It remains now for you to act as you please; but let me entreat you, for your own interest, and the happiness of your people, to make peace."—So soon as the minister became seated, the Bashaw immediately drew a signet from his bosom, and pressing it upon the treaty, exclaimed—"It is peace."

The ratified treaty which Mr. Nissen had so successfully negotiated, was again placed in his hands by the Bashaw, with directions to carry it on board the frigate *Constitution*, after which the customary salute of peace took place—

twenty-one guns were fired from the Tripolitan castle, which was promptly returned from the United States flagship. The terms were as follows: "That there should be an exchange of prisoners, man for man, so far as they would go: that the Bashaw should send all the Americans in his power on board the squadron off Tripoli, that his subjects should be brought over from Syracuse and delivered to him, with all convenient speed; and as he had three hundred Americans, more or less, and the United States squadron one hundred Tripolitans, more or less, the American commissioners engaged to give, for the balance in the Bashaw's favour, \$60,000; and that a treaty of peace should be made on honourable and mutually beneficial terms."

Commodore Rodgers, Colonel Lear, and a number of other officers belonging to the American squadron, landed the same evening for the purpose of visiting the released officers, and to congratulate them on their emancipation. The prisoners embarked the next day, and were distributed among the different vessels of the squadron; and in a few days departed with light hearts and buoyant spirits from the coast of Barbary.

After a painful captivity of upwards of nineteen months, the officers and men were restored to liberty, and if not at once to their own country, at least to a theatre, the decks of United States men-of-war, where their nation's honour has been always gallantly and successfully sustained.

These events necessarily put an end to the operations of General Eaton and Sidi Hamet Caramonly. Whether they would have succeeded in their designs is extremely problematical, as no great reliance could be placed on the tumultuous and undisciplined horde which constituted the great body of their force. Both Sidi Hamet and General Eaton considered themselves ungenerously treated in this transaction, and I think few will be disposed to entirely acquit our

government of all blame. After encountering so many hardships and dangers they should at least have been consulted before a treaty of peace was negotiated. The government of the United States, however, were not unmindful of the interests of the Ex-Bashaw during the negotiation. A complete amnesty, and a suitable provision for life, was insisted on, and obtained from the reigning Bashaw.

During the captivity of our countrymen, and some months previously to the conclusion of the treaty of peace, the imprisoned sailors and marines informed Captain Bainbridge by letter, that one of their keepers, a Neapolitan, had treated them with great humanity and kindness, and that they were desirous of reciprocating the favours which he had so generously bestowed upon them. This keeper being a slave, and anxious, like themselves, to be liberated, they requested their commander to authorize the purser to advance, from the pay then due to them, the sum of seven hundred dollars, the amount demanded for his freedom. So soon as they were informed that peace was concluded, their application was renewed, and, in obedience to their wishes, the money advanced them by the purser; the benevolent slave was redeemed from bondage, and conveyed in safety to his native country, in one of our national vessels. When our sailors and their freedman separated at Naples, a poignancy of feeling was exhibited, which would have done honour to those who move in more elevated walks in life, and who pretend to more refinement of sentiment.

The squadron having arrived at Syracuse, a court of inquiry was ordered on Commodore Bainbridge, by the secretary of the navy, to investigate the circumstances connected with the loss of the frigate Philadelphia. It is scarcely necessary to add, that the court most honourably acquitted him.

Captain Bainbridge and his officers soon returned to the United States, and landed at Hampton, in Virginia. They

passed, through Richmond and Fredericksburg,* on their way to Washington, and were received with every mark of kindness, and publicly entertained in each of those cities. Respect for their gallantry, and sympathy for their past suffering were every where expressed by our most distinguished citizens.

So soon as Captain Bainbridge arrived in Washington, he officially informed the secretary of the navy, and the President of the United States, of the full extent of his obligations to the benevolent Danish consul, Mr. Nissen. This information was laid before Congress, after which, the following resolution was adopted:—

“Resolved, by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, That the President of the United States be requested to cause to be made known to Nicholas C. Nissen, Esq., his Danish Majes-

* When the citizens of Fredericksburg heard of the approach of Captain Bainbridge and his officers, towards that place, a military and civic procession was promptly formed, under the command of Colonel Hugh Mercer, which conducted him into the town.

His reception is well described in the following extract from a recent letter, from Colonel Mercer to the writer.

“We gave our departed friend a welcome to his native shores, which potentates might have envied. Such was the enthusiastic welcome which was manifested by our citizens, that he was completely overcome, and could not refrain from shedding tears as he returned their salutations.

“The next day, the compliment of a public dinner was given to him, (notwithstanding his wish to decline it,) and was numerously attended by the gentlemen of this place, and the country adjacent. Among the guests, we had Colonel Washington, the hero of the *Cow-Pens*, and the much dreaded foe of Tarlton. Never on any occasion, either before or since, except at the reception we gave General La Fayette, when he was the nation’s guest, and for which there was a preparation of several weeks, have I witnessed such interesting and joyous scenes in our little town. My intercourse with Bainbridge, on that occasion, formed the basis of a sincere friendship, which continued fresh and vigorous until the day of his death.”

ty's consul, residing at Tripoli, the high sense entertained by Congress, of his disinterested and benevolent attentions, manifested to Captain Bainbridge, his officers and crew, during the time of their captivity in Tripoli."

[APPROVED 10th APRIL, 1806.]

After Captain Bainbridge had passed a few months with his family, he was appointed by the secretary of the navy to the command of the navy yard in New York. Finding his pecuniary concerns somewhat embarrassed, arising from neglect during his long captivity, he was influenced by considerations of duty to his family to obtain a furlough for the purpose of engaging, for a time, in the merchant service; the situation of the country not requiring his services.

He accordingly sailed in the brig *Minerva*, for Havanna, as commander and part owner, by which he made a prosperous voyage. On his return home, however, he met with an accident, by which he had nearly lost his life. Near the Bahama bank, he met his old friend, Captain Hays, of Philadelphia, on an outward voyage, to whom he paid a short visit. When the boat returned alongside the *Minerva*, he placed his foot on the gunwale with the design of springing into the main channels, but, at that moment, a sea struck the boat, by which he was thrown between her and the ship. Unacquainted with the art of swimming, he immediately sunk, but rose again at the stern of the ship. The mate promptly directed the vessel to be hove to, seized the main brace, and attempted to jump overboard with it, in order to place it in the hands of his commander, but his feet became entangled in it, so that he did not reach the water. Captain Bainbridge again sunk, some distance from the ship, but was collected, and had still confidence that he would be rescued. With a view of affording him every possible chance of saving himself, various articles were thrown near him, with an expectation that he would seize them, and

thus buoy himself up, until a boat might reach him. With every possible exertion, however, he could not reach any of them, sunk a third time, and was now considered irretrievably lost. While slowly descending, at some distance from the surface, he saw the deep sea lead-line floating near him, which, by making great efforts with his hands and feet, he reached, and by making a few turns of the line around his arm, succeeded in drawing himself to the surface of the water, when the men in the boat, which were sent to his assistance, snatched him from a watery grave.

He was lifted from the boat into his vessel in a state of extreme exhaustion. He now learned that his mulatto servant Will had been the means of saving his life. Hearing the exclamation that Captain Bainbridge had fallen overboard, he ran on deck, and seeing his master struggling in the waves, he instantly veered out the lead-line to its full extent. He was thus miraculously rescued from impending death, at the awful moment when hope itself was abandoned.

He continued in the merchant service until March, 1808, and then was appointed to the Portland station, which had become vacant by the lamented death of his gallant friend Commodore Preble. The gunboats which had been building at that station were completed under his superintendence, and equipped for active service. His frank and gentleman-like deportment, conciliated many warm friends, and when he was ordered on other duty at a distant station, it excited universal regret.

In consequence of our difficulties with England, arising out of the spoliations committed by her on our commerce—the impressment of our seamen—the unprovoked attack on the United States frigate *Chesapeake*—the disavowal of *Erskine's* arrangement—and the unsatisfactory missions of the British ministers *Rose* and *Jackson*, confident expectations were entertained that the government of the United States

would declare war against that power. Anticipating such an event, our best officers were ordered on active duty. In accordance with this determination, Bainbridge was appointed, in December, 1808, to command the frigate *President*, then lying at Washington. After superintending her repairs and equipment he sailed in July, 1809, on a cruise along our coast until May, 1810. He thus kept at sea during a long and boisterous winter, in order to prepare his crew for the exigency of war.

Not realizing his expectations with regard to hostilities with Great Britain, he was induced to accept an advantageous offer made to him by his commercial friends in Philadelphia. He therefore solicited a furlough from the government, which was granted, accompanied by the subjoined handsome letter from Paul Hamilton, Esq., then secretary of the navy.

"Your letter of the third instant, wherein you resign the command of the frigate *President*, for the purpose of making a voyage in the merchant service has been received, and has very much excited my sensibility; as the ability and zeal with which for many years you have served our country, cannot fail to cause me great regret at parting with you even for a time.

That you have made great sacrifices to patriotism, I well know, and it is only by combining this consideration with the motives on which your request is founded, that I am enabled to comply with your wishes.

"In whatever situation you may be placed, and at all times, be assured your prosperity and honour will be extremely dear to me; and while I shall anxiously wish for your return, at the earliest moment your scheme will admit, I present you my sincere wishes for complete success in it.

"You are at liberty, on receipt of this, to quit the frigate; in which case Lieutenant Morris will proceed to Hampton-roads, there anchor, and wait further orders."

As soon as the merchant vessel was equipped and loaded,

Captain Bainbridge proceeded on a voyage to St. Petersburg. Nothing of interest occurred until he passed the sound into the Baltic, when he was captured by a Danish privateer and carried into Copenhagen. He had not anchored in the harbour more than half an hour, when Mr. Nissen, the zealous friend of the American prisoners in Tripoli, called on him and again tendered his services, with his characteristic kindness and sincerity. Never so happy as when in the exercise of disinterested benevolence, Mr. Nissen directed all his interest and energy to obtain the release of Captain Bainbridge's vessel. His generous efforts were crowned with complete success—the ship was released, and Captain Bainbridge was permitted to proceed on his voyage to St. Petersburg.

The first interview between Mr. Nissen at Copenhagen was rendered more interesting by a strange coincidence of circumstances. At the very juncture when Mr. Nissen heard that his old Barbary friend had been brought into port, he was engaged in unpacking the silver urn, which was presented to him by the American prisoners, to whose comfort he had so largely contributed. As the urn had been manufactured in England, and as war had subsisted between that country and the northern powers of Europe, intercourse was in some degree suspended, to which must be attributed the delay in the reception of this testimony of the officers' gratitude to their benefactor.

Captain Bainbridge made a second voyage to St. Petersburg, in the autumn of 1811. Intrusted with an important mercantile negotiation, he had made arrangements to remain in the Russian capital until the next spring. His letters from the United States had informed him, however, that an action had taken place between the United States frigate *President*, and his Britannic majesty's frigate *Little Belt*, which, added to other causes of irritation, might lead to a war between these governments. Unwilling to be absent from his post in the hour of danger, he determined to surmount all

difficulties, and return so as to report himself personally at Washington. The Baltic being frozen over, the only route was over land through Sweden to Gotheburg, a distance of nearly eleven hundred miles. A journey of this kind during the inclemency of winter is considered so perilous, that to a mind less energetic, the enterprise would have been frightful indeed.

Previously to his departure from St. Petersburg, he waited on the honourable John Quincy Adams, resident minister from the United States at that court, and acquainted him with his determination. A courier's pass was obtained for him by our minister, who commissioned him as bearer of despatches to our minister at the court of St. James, whence he intended to return in a merchant vessel to the United States.

During Captain Bainbridge's residence at St. Petersburg he formed an intimate acquaintance with Doctor Jacques Wylie, the private physician, as well as the intimate and confidential friend of the Emperor Alexander. These connexions necessarily gave him great influence at court. To remove all obstacles, and to procure every facility in his journey, he was placed under the protection of the Russian government, by Count Romanskoff, the premier, appointing him bearer of despatches to Baron Nicholn, minister plenipotentiary of his imperial majesty at the court of Sweden. He also obtained letters for Captain Bainbridge to General Steingal, Governor and Captain General of Finland; and to Barclay de Tolly, adjutant general of the Russian army, and governor of the islands of Alands in the gulf of Bothnia. The young Barclay de Tolly, who was the pupil of Dr. Wylie, also gave Captain Bainbridge a very warm letter to his father.

Thus protected he proceeded on his journey, and was accompanied as far as the frontiers of Sweden by a Russian commissioned officer. The journey was tedious, arising from

the wretched condition of the roads. There were no public houses of entertainment on the way, which compelled him to travel night and day, to sleep in his carriage, and to allay his hunger by such provision as he could carry with him. When he arrived at Abo, situated on the gulf of Bothnia, the ice prevented him from proceeding by water to Stockholm direct, which is the usual route. Intent on his purposes, however, he resolved to hazard an attempt to cross a dangerous ferry to Alands, and thence over the island in a four-wheeled carriage, though it was said, that such an effort was never before made in an inclement season. As the distance to the island was twenty miles, it was necessary to take the vehicle to pieces and send it over in several boats. In crossing the strait he was exposed to great suffering from the intensity of the cold, and great danger from the floating masses of ice which obstructed the passage of the boats. After reaching the principal island, he learned with great regret that Barclay de Tolly had left his station that morning by order of the emperor to repair with despatch to St. Petersburg in order to make the necessary arrangements for opening the campaign early in the spring, against the Emperor Napoleon. The Russian officers, however, treated him with great courtesy and hospitality, and insisted on his remaining with them in order that he might recruit from his fatigue.

Being now refreshed he departed for Stockholm, where he received many civilities from Baron Nicolson the Russian minister, and from the highest military officers of that capital. Whilst pursuing his journey to Gotheburg, he was driven, through the carelessness of the driver, over a precipice of thirty feet. The coachman and one of his horses were instantly killed—the carriage dashed to pieces, and Captain Bainbridge severely bruised. In consequence of the injury he had received, it was with difficulty he could reach the next port. His persevering spirit, however, enabled him to surmount every inconvenience resulting from inclement wea-

ther, mountainous roads, and wretched accommodations. He arrived at Gotheburg, on December 20th, and on the 31st of the same month, sailed in company with a number of English men of war.

The day after leaving Gotheburg, the vessels encountered a violent gale, in which a British three decker and a frigate were lost on the coast of Jutland. The vessel in which Captain Bainbridge was a passenger would have experienced the same fate had he not, by the most earnest solicitations, persuaded the commander to steer for the coast of Norway. The captain yielded, though with evident reluctance, believing that the experience of the British officers, whose vessels were then standing to the opposite coast, rendered them the better guides. This incident alone would establish the superiority of the judgment of Captain Bainbridge, even if it had not been signally and gloriously confirmed by the events of the subsequent year.

On the thirteenth of January, 1812, the vessel was again in great peril, and would have been lost, in passing through the channel between the Orkneys and Shetland islands, had he not boldly and promptly countermanded an order of the captain of the vessel, given under feelings of great alarm occasioned by observing breakers. Captain Bainbridge's fellow passengers never afterwards met him without expressing their thanks to him for having saved their lives by his energy and presence of mind, at a moment of appalling danger. He arrived safely at last in Liverpool, carried his despatches to our minister in London, again immediately returned, took passage in a vessel about to sail for Boston, where he arrived early in February—proceeded direct to Washington, and reported himself ready for active service.

After remaining in Washington a few weeks, during the deliberation of Congress on the subject of a declaration of war against Great Britain, he was ordered to the command of the navy yard at Charlestown, Massachusetts. Before

leaving the seat of government, he learned with infinite regret and mortification, that in a cabinet council it *was determined, that our vessels of war should be placed in ordinary!!* as it was deemed unwise to jeopard our few frigates and sloops of war in a contest with the gigantic navy of our enemy. Captain Bainbridge consulted Captain Charles Stewart, who was also then in Washington, on the propriety of remonstrating against this measure. They accordingly drew up a letter to the secretary of the navy, which both signed, stating in forcible language, that such a course would have a most chilling and unhappy effect on the spirit of our officers. The effect on the people of the United States would be an unwillingness hereafter to support the expense of a navy which had been thus pronounced useless during a period of national peril. They further stated, that our vessels, by sailing singly, might materially injure the commerce of the enemy, and that in any conflict with an equal force, they were very sure the result would redound to the honour of our navy. If we were even to *lose* some of our vessels of war, it would be better to do so, than that they should be ingloriously laid up in harbour, while other branches of the service were gallantly contending in the field. From the high discipline of our navy, and from the eagerness of our officers and crews for the contest, they felt perfectly assured that if our vessels did not prove invariably triumphant, they would certainly never disgrace themselves or the nation. This letter had its effect—our men of war were permitted to cruise, and the result has shown the truth of their predictions.

Commodore Stewart happened to be in the navy department at Washington, when Midshipman Hamilton arrived as bearer of despatches from Commodore Decatur, commanding the frigate United States, with the flag of the Macedonian, which he had captured.

After the usual congratulations occasioned by the news of

the third victory, gained in a few months over the enemy, Mr. Hamilton, then secretary of the navy, remarked, "We are indebted to Bainbridge and yourself for these flags and victories. Had it not been for your strong remonstrance, not a vessel of war belonging to the government would have left its anchorage."

Having gained this important point, which otherwise would have proved fatal to the interest of the navy, he departed for Boston, to take command of the navy yard on the Charlestown station. Until that period the yard had been so much neglected, that there was not a single convenience for either building, repairing, or for laying up vessels in ordinary. It possessed, indeed, but few of the necessary appendages of a navy yard.

Captain Bainbridge proceeded at once to examine and sound the harbour and channels, which led him to the conviction that the site combined great advantages for a permanent naval establishment. The harbour was never closed by ice—it could be at all times safely navigated, and it could never be effectually blockaded by an enemy. Experience confirmed the truth of his statement; for during the whole war, both national and merchant vessels went to sea, whenever they found it convenient, and without exposing themselves to great risk.

Captain Bainbridge made frequent communications to government, in which he detailed the complete security which our commerce would receive from an extensive naval establishment at Charlestown. The distance of the yard from the sea, precluding the possibility of surprise, and the channel being commanded by forts Independence and Warren, would render it impossible for any armament to advance within gun shot of the town, without being demolished.

Though the government was originally opposed to the Commodore's views on this point, yet such was his unabating

zeal and perseverance, and such the force of his arguments in favour of a scheme which he deemed vitally important to the interests of the nation, that the president of the United States was at length persuaded to authorize an expenditure for improvements.

While he was superintending these operations, war was declared on the eighteenth of June, 1812, by the United States against Great Britain. Adventurous in disposition, it was not to be supposed that he would be satisfied with a command on shore, when danger and glory could be courted on the ocean. He, therefore, solicited that he might be appointed to the command of a frigate. In conformity with his wishes, he was ordered to the command of the *Constellation*, and directed to proceed to Washington, and to fit her out with all possible despatch. The order was promptly obeyed; and after directing the necessary repairs, and making such arrangements as were proper to facilitate their completion, he returned to Charlestown to make provision for his family during his absence on a cruise.

He had not returned more than a few days, when the frigate *Constitution* arrived in Boston harbour after a splendid victory obtained over the British frigate *Guerrier*. Captain Hull, her gallant commander, applied for leave of absence, in order to attend to some private concerns which imperiously demanded his attention. Captain Bainbridge being informed of this determination, immediately applied to be transferred to that frigate. The secretary of the navy cheerfully acceded to this request, and placed, besides, a small squadron under his command, consisting of the frigate *Essex*, commanded by Captain David Porter, and the sloop of war *Hornet*, under the command of Captain James Lawrence. His broad pendant was hoisted on board the *Constitution*, on the fifteenth day of September, 1812.

Commodore Bainbridge transmitted orders to Captain Porter, whose vessel was then lying in the Delaware, for his

government during the cruise. He directed that the *Essex* should sail direct for the Cape de Verd Islands—stop at Port Pray, a bay in the island of St. Jago, and from thence proceed to the island of Fernando Noronha, where he might obtain water and refreshments. If the *Essex* should not form a junction with the *Constitution* and *Hornet*, at the port last mentioned, he directed Captain Porter to touch at the island of St. Catherine, early in February, where he should remain until the fifteenth, thence proceed to St. Helena, and cruise to the southward of it until the first of April, for the purpose of intercepting the homeward bound British East India ships.

In the event of the desired junction being found impracticable, Captain Porter was directed to act in conformity with his own judgment, and to use every effort to annoy the enemy's commerce.

On the twenty-sixth of October, the *Constitution* and *Hornet* sailed from Boston on their destined cruise. In December, the little squadron touched at Fernando Noronha, as well to obtain water and fresh provisions, as to meet the frigate *Essex*, as this was one of the places assigned as a rendezvous. This island lies north-east of Cape St. Roque, which is the most eastern part of the Brazil coast. It is the Botany Bay of the Portuguese territories, and, as might be expected, its population consists of a few miserable proscripsts, under the surveillance of a scarcely less miserable guard.

The island produces the choicest fruits and vegetables, and abounds in wild hogs, goats, cattle; and the waters produce an excellent variety of fish. Females are entirely excluded from the island, in order that the period of exile may be rendered more tedious and annoying. To prevent desertion, boats are not permitted to be kept on the island.

While the *Constitution* and *Hornet* were off Fernando Noronha, a dependency of Portugul in the interest of the

enemy, they wore the flag of Great Britain, and were reported to the governor as his Britannic Majesty's ships *Acasta*, of forty-four guns, and the *Morgianna*, of twenty guns.

The commodore made an effort to obtain a supply of water, but such was the distance from the point where the water was obtained to where the ships were anchored, that it was impracticable to accomplish it within any reasonable time. The commodore, therefore, left the island, first placing in the hands of the governor a letter for Captain Porter, addressed to Sir James Yeo. This plan of communicating with each other, had been arranged previously to sailing.

"MY DEAR MEDITERRANEAN FRIEND,

"Probably you may stop here, but do not attempt to water, as it is attended with too much difficulty. I learned before I left England, that you intended to apply for a station on the Brazil coast, and that you would probably cruise from St. Salvador to Rio de Janeiro. I should be happy to meet and converse on old affairs of captivity. Recollect our secret of former times.

"Your friend of his Majesty's

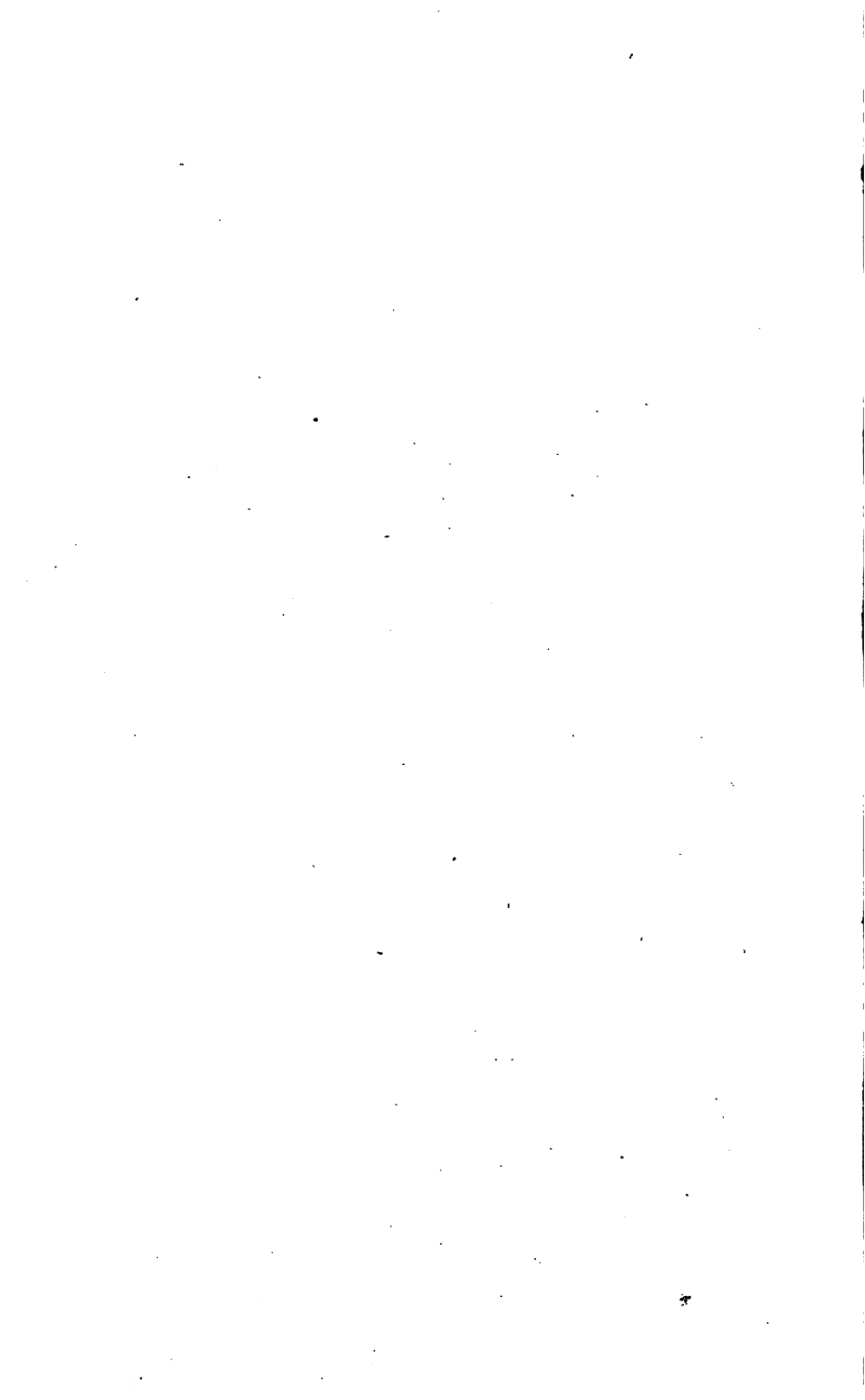
"ship *Acasta*,

"KERR."

"To Sir James Yeo,
"H. B. M. ship *Southampton*." }

To this was subjoined the following remarks, written with sympathetic ink. "I am bound off St. Salvador, thence off Cape Trio, where I intend to cruise until the first of January. Go off Cape Trio, to the northward of Rio de Janeiro, and keep a look out for me.

"YOUR FRIEND."



CHAPTER VII.

Constitution and Hornet arrive off St. Salvador—Bonne Citoyenne lying in Harbour—The Challenge—The Refusal—Hostility of the Governor of Bahia—His Partiality to the British Nation—Action with the Frigate Java—Official Letter—Bainbridge wounded—Heroic Conduct of John Cheever—The Dream—Returns to St. Salvador—Prisoners on Parole of Honour—Returns the Sword of Captain Lambert—General Hislop's Correspondence—Death of Captain Lambert—Orders to Captain Lawrence—Montague Seventy-four raises the Blockade of the Bonne Citoyenne—Capture of the British Brig Peacock by the Hornet.

THE Constitution and Hornet arrived off St. Salvador on the 13th of December, 1812. Captain Lawrence was directed to enter this harbour with the view of consulting Henry Hill, Esq., the United States consul, in relation to the disposition of the government of Brazil, towards the United States—whether there were any British cruisers on the coast—whether British merchantmen stopped at this port, from the East Indies, &c. &c. After receiving satisfactory answers to these questions, Captain Lawrence hastened his return, and with a joyous heart informed Commodore Bain-

bridge, that the British sloop of war *Bonne Citoyenne*, was lying at anchor in the harbour—that she was laden with a large amount of specie, and was about to sail direct for England. He expressed a confidence in his ability to capture the ship, and hoped the commodore would make such arrangements as would invite her commander to leave the port.

Highly appreciating the talents and determined bravery of Captain Lawrence, and the gallant officers and crew of the *Hornet*, and not doubting their ability to triumph over the *Bonne Citoyenne*, the commodore left the coast for a few days, in order that the hostile vessels might have a conflict under circumstances of perfect equality. As soon as the frigate *Constitution* had left the coast, Captain Lawrence sent the following communication to Consul Hill.

“When I last saw you I stated my wishes to meet the *Bonne Citoyenne*, and authorized you to make them known to Captain Green. I now request you to state to him, and pledge my honour, that neither the *Constitution*, nor any other American vessel shall interfere.”

Consul Hill wrote to the British consul, and communicated through him Captain Lawrence's challenge to Captain Green, and informed him that Commodore Bainbridge, of the *Constitution* frigate, confirmed to him the assurance of Captain Lawrence in these words: “*If Captain Green wishes to try equal force, I pledge my honour to give him an opportunity by being out of the way, or not interfering.*”

This direct and manly offer to meet in equal combat was declined on the part of the British commander. The following letter from Frederick Landerman, Esq., the British consul, contains Captain Green's very prudent reply.

"Fort de St. Pedro, Dec. 29th, 1812.

"SIR,

"I transmitted your letter to me of yesterday to Captain P. B. Green, to whom the substance is directed; and having his reply, I herewith insert it, verbatim.

"I hasten to acknowledge the favour of your communication made to me, this day, from Mr. Hill, consul of the United States of America, on the subject of a challenge, stated to have been offered through Mr. Hill, by Captain Lawrence, of the United States sloop of war, the *Hornet*, to myself as commander of his Britannic Majesty's ship, the *Bonne Citoyenne*, anchored in this port, pledging his honour, as well as that of Commodore Bainbridge, that no advantage shall be taken by the *Constitution*, or any other American vessel whatever, on the occasion.

"I am convinced, sir, if such a rencontre were to take place, the result could not remain long dubious, and would terminate favourably to the ship which I have the honour to command; but I am equally convinced, that Commodore Bainbridge, could not reserve so much from the paramount duty which he owes to his country, as to become an inactive spectator, and see a ship belonging to the very squadron under his orders fall into the hands of an enemy: this reason operates powerfully on my mind, for exposing the *Bonne Citoyenne* to a risk upon terms so manifestly disadvantageous, as those proposed by Commodore Bainbridge; indeed, nothing could give me a greater satisfaction than complying with the wishes of Captain Lawrence; and I earnestly hope, that chance will afford him an opportunity of meeting the *Bonne Citoyenne* under different circumstances, to enable him to distinguish himself in the manner he is so desirous of doing. I further assure you, that my ship will, at all times, be prepared, wherever she may be, to repel any attack.

made against her, and I shall also act offensively whenever I judge it proper to do so."

"I am, &c. &c.

"P. B. GREEN."

Though caution is sometimes commendable, yet when carried so far as was exhibited in this instance, by Captain Green, betrays, to say the least, a want of confidence in himself. His reply, besides, may be fairly considered an acknowledgment of the prowess and skill of his enemy. No true knight would have hesitated to lift the glove which had been so gallantly thrown. It was an idle and discourteous excuse, to say that Commodore Bainbridge would interfere, after he had solemnly pledged his honour to the contrary.

The commodore forwarded this correspondence to the secretary of the navy, accompanied by the following animadversions.

"Captain Green's excuse, I have no doubt, will be viewed by those who see it in its proper light. He certainly was not warranted in questioning the sacred pledge I made to him. The confidence which I had in the gallant commander, brave officers and crew of the *Hornet*, all of whom exhibited the most ardent desire for the conflict, induced me to take the responsibility, from which I never would have swerved. The strongest proof, indeed, which I could give of that, was leaving the *Hornet* for days together, off the harbour in which the *Bonne Citoyenne* laid, and from which might be discovered that the *Constitution* was not within forty miles; therefore, at any period, Captain Green could have been certain of contending with her alone. Finally, to prevent his having the least possible excuse, I went into the harbour of St. Salvador, and remained at anchor there for three days, where he could have detained me twenty-four hours, on application to the governor. These three

days, the *Hornet* remained off the harbour, and the *Bonne Citoyenne* continued in it, safely riding at her anchor.

"On my leaving the coast of Brazil, I left Captain Lawrence to watch her, and have no doubt, should he fall in with her, that the result will be honourable to his country and to himself.

"Hitherto, our enemy has attributed our victories over them to our having a superior force, when, in fact, the difference in force has not been comparable with the superiority of effect done by us. In the present instance, they have not the least shade for such an excuse, for the *Bonne Citoyenne* is a larger vessel, and of greater force in guns and men than the *Hornet*; but the high state of discipline, and excellent order which the *Hornet* is in, makes me feel confident of a favourable result, if an action should take place between them.

"Permit me to take this opportunity of expressing to you, the great satisfaction I have received from Captain Lawrence's conduct, ever since he has been under my command, and I respectfully recommend him to your particular notice as a most meritorious officer."

Count de Arcos, the governor of Bahia, early manifested an unfriendly disposition to the squadron under the command of Commodore Bainbridge. He availed himself of every trivial circumstance to justify his inhospitable demeanour. The chase of a British vessel by the *Hornet*, off the coast of Brazil, was charitably construed by the governor, into a violation of neutrality.

The American consul informed the commodore, that he discovered an evident partiality for the British. The consul opened a correspondence with the governor, with the view of removing prejudices which he was sensible had been created by the management of the resident English agents.

The consul transmitted copies of these communications

to Commodore Bainbridge. The ability with which he defended the conduct of the American commanders, on principles of national law, and the dignity and firmness with which he animadverted on the captious communications of the governor, are alike creditable to his talents and to his patriotism.

After sending a spirited remonstrance to the governor of Bahia, against the hostile attitude which he had discovered towards the United States vessels, he prepared to continue his cruise; first, however, sending the following laconic order to Captain Lawrence.

"I shall keep off the land to the northward of lat. 12° 20', until Thursday next, when you will meet me there, except you have great reason to believe the *Bonne Citoyenne* is coming out, in that case, watch close, and join me on Saturday next.

"May glory and success attend you."

Three days after the Constitution had separated from the Hornet, off St. Salvador, and while running down the coast of Brazil, he fell in with, and captured the British frigate Java. The particulars of this brilliant action, is lucidly detailed in the subjoined official report of Commodore Bainbridge to the secretary of the navy.

"I have the honour to inform you, that on the 29th of December, at two o'clock, P. M., in south latitude 13° 6', west longitude 38°, and about ten leagues distant from the coast of Brazil, I fell in with, and captured, his Britannic Majesty's frigate Java, of forty-nine guns, and upwards of four hundred men, commanded by Captain Lambert, a very distinguished officer. The action lasted one hour and fifty-five minutes, in which time, the enemy was completely dismantled, not having a spar of any kind standing.

"The loss on board the Constitution, was nine killed, and twenty-five wounded, as per enclosed list. The enemy had sixty killed, and one hundred and one wounded, (among the

latter, Captain Lambert, mortally,) but, by the enclosed letter, written on board this ship, by one of the officers of the Java, and accidentally found, it is evident that the enemy's wounded must have been much greater than as above stated, and who must have died of their wounds, previously to their being removed. The letter states, sixty killed, and one hundred and seventy wounded.

"For further details of the action, I beg leave to refer you to the enclosed extract from my journal: The Java had, in addition to her own crew, upwards of one hundred supernumerary officers and seamen, to join the British ships of war in the East Indies. She had also on board, Lieutenant-General Hislop, appointed to the command of Bombay; Major Walker, and Captain Wood of his staff, and Captain Marshall, master and commander in the British navy, going to the East Indies to take command of a sloop of war there.

"Should I attempt to do justice, by representation, to the brave and good conduct of my officers and crew, I should fail in the attempt; therefore, suffice it to say, that the whole of their conduct, was such as to meet my highest encomiums. I beg leave to recommend the officers, particularly, to the notice of the government, as, also, the unfortunate seamen who were wounded, and the families of those brave men who fell in action.

"The great distance from our own coast, and the perfect wreck we made of the enemy's frigate, forbade every idea of attempting to take her to the United States. I had, therefore, no alternative, but burning her, which I did on the thirty-first, after receiving all the prisoners and their baggage, which was very hard work, only having two boats left out of eight, and not one left on board the Java.

"On blowing up the frigate Java, I proceeded to St. Salvador, where I landed all the prisoners on their parole, to return to England, and there remain until regularly exchanged, and not to serve in their professional capacities in

any place, or in any manner, whatsoever, against the United States of America, until their exchange shall be effected."

EXTRACTS FROM COMMODORE BAINBRIDGE'S JOURNAL.

"Tuesday, December 29th, 1812, at nine, A. M., discovered two strange sails on the weather bow. At ten, discovered the strange sails to be ships; one of them stood in for the land—the other stood off shore, in a direction towards us. At forty-five minutes past ten, A. M., we tacked ship to the northward and westward, and stood for the sail standing towards us. At eleven, A. M., tacked to the southward and eastward—hailed up the mainsail, and took in the royals. At thirty minutes past eleven, made the private signal for the day, which was not answered, and then set the mainsail and royals, to draw the strange sail off from the neutral coast, and separate her from the sail in company.

"Wednesday, the thirtieth of December, (nautical time,) latitude 13° 6' south longitude 31° west, ten leagues from the coast of Brazil, commenced with clear weather and moderate breezes from the E. N. E.; hoisted our ensign and pendant. At fifteen minutes past meridian, the ship hoisted her colours, an English ensign, having a signal flying at the main. At twenty-six minutes past one, P. M., being sufficiently from the land, and finding the ship to be an English frigate, took in the mainsail and royals, tacked ship, and stood for the enemy.

"At fifty minutes past one, P. M., the enemy bore down with an intention of raking us, which we avoided by wearing. At two, P. M., the enemy being within half a mile of us, and to windward, and having hauled down his colours, except the union Jack, at the mizenmast head, induced me

to give orders to the officer of the third division, to fire a gun ahead of the enemy, to make him show his colours, which being done, brought on a fire from us of the whole broadside, on which the enemy hoisted his colours, and immediately returned our fire. A general action, with round and grape then commenced; the enemy keeping at a much greater distance than I wished; but could not bring him to a closer action. Considerable manœuvres were made by both vessels to rake and avoid being raked.

"The following minutes were taken during the action.

"At ten minutes past two, P. M., commenced the action within good grape or cannister distance, the enemy to windward, but much further than I wished. At thirty minutes past two, our wheel was shot entirely away. At forty minutes past two, determined to close with the enemy, notwithstanding his raking. Set the fore and main sail, and luffed up close to him. At fifty minutes past two, the enemy's jib-boom got foul of our mizzen rigging. At three, the head of the enemy's bowsprit and jib-boom were shot away by us. At five minutes past three, shot away the enemy's foremast by the board. At fifteen minutes past three, shot away his main top-mast just above the cap. At forty minutes past three, shot away the gaff and spanker-boom. At fifty-five minutes past three, shot away his mizzen-mast, nearly by the board, at five minutes past four, having silenced the fire of the enemy completely, and his colours in the main rigging being down, we supposed he had struck; we then hauled down courses and shot ahead, to repair our rigging which was extremely cut, leaving the enemy a complete wreck: soon afterwards discovered the enemy's flag was still flying. Hove to, to repair some of our damage. At twenty minutes past four, wore ship and stood for the enemy. At twenty-five minutes past five, got very close to the enemy in a very effectual raking position, athwart his bows, and when about to fire, he most prudently struck his flag; for

had he suffered the broadside to have raked him, his additional loss must have been extremely great, as he laid an unmanageable wreck upon the water.

"After the enemy had struck, wore ship and reefed the topsails, then hoisted one of the only two remaining boats we had left out of eight, and sent Lieutenant Parker, first of the Constitution, to take possession of the enemy, which proved to be his Britannic Majesty's frigate Java, rated thirty-eight, but carried forty-nine guns, and manned with upwards of four hundred men,—commanded by Captain Lambert, a very distinguished officer, who was mortally wounded.

"The action continued from the commencement to the end of the fire, one hour and fifty-five minutes.

"The force of the enemy at the commencement of the action was, no doubt, considerably greater than we had been able to ascertain. The officers were extremely cautious in discovering the number. By her quarter bill, she had one man stationed at each gun more than we had. The Constitution was very much cut in her sails and rigging, and many of her spars injured.

"At seven, P. M., the boat returned with Lieutenant Chads, the first lieutenant of the enemy's frigate, and Lieutenant-General Hislop, governor of Bombay, Major Walker, and Captain Wood of his staff. Captain Lambert of the Java, was too dangerously wounded to be removed immediately.

"The cutter returned on board the prize for the prisoners, and brought Captain Marshall, master and commander in the British navy, who was a passenger on board, and several other naval officers destined for ships in the East Indies.

"The Java was an important ship, fitted out in the completest manner to convey Lieutenant-General Hislop and staff to Bombay, several naval officers, and a number of seamen for ships in the East Indies.

"She had also despatches for St. Helena, Cape of Good

Hope, and every British establishment in the India, and China seas.

"There was copper for a seventy-four, and two brigs, building at Bombay, and a great many other valuables, but every thing was blown up in her, except the officers' baggage."

In the early part of the action, Commodore Bainbridge was wounded by a musket ball in the hip, and shortly afterward by a piece of langrage in the thigh. Though these wounds were severe and extremely painful, yet so deeply interested was he in the important duties which devolved upon him after the action, that he would not be persuaded to leave the deck until eleven o'clock at night. The langrage was not extracted for many days after the wound had been inflicted. The constant irritation produced by the lodgement of this foreign substance in his muscles, gave rise to symptoms of tetanus, yet by the skill and unremitting attentions of the surgeon of the ship, Dr. Evans, he was happily restored to his country, and to the arms of his affectionate family.

On the 29th, after the action, Lieutenant Aylwin, a young officer of great promise, died of his wounds. He had been in the previous action between the *Constitution* and *Guerrier*, and for his gallantry and good conduct on that occasion he was promoted to a lieutenancy.

During this action there were many instances among the seamen and marines of not only dashing bravery, but of a patriotic enthusiasm which deserves particular admiration. A remarkable example was in the case of John Cheever, a seaman from Marblehead, who, while lying on the deck in the agonies of death, by the side of a dead brother, who had been killed in the early part of the action, heard the word passed that *the enemy has struck*. This animating intelligence giving a momentary reflux to his fast ebbing spirit, he raised himself on his left hand, pronounced three cheers with loud

and joyous vehemence, and then fell back and expired with a smile of content and satisfaction playing upon his countenance.

Commodore Bainbridge had a singular dream a few nights before the action, in which he foresaw almost every incident of the battle. He dreamed that he had a severe action with an English frigate, in which he ultimately triumphed; and among the prisoners were several army officers, one of whom had the rank of General. The circumstance made so strong an impression on him, that he made a note of it next morning in his journal, and mentioned it also to his officers.

In the first boat which arrived from the captured frigate, was brought the general officer, and as it approached the *Constitution*, the recollection of the dream was revived, and he exclaimed to Lieutenant Parker, that is the identical officer I saw in my dream. He might have added, in the language of Brabantio,

“ This incident is not unlike my dream.”

After the capture of the *Java*, the *Constitution* arrived off St. Salvador, where she found her consort, the *Hornet*, still maintaining a blockade of the port. Commodore Bainbridge requested Captain Lawrence to pilot his frigate into the harbour, as he had some previous knowledge of the channel. As his vessel was entering it, a boat came alongside with information that the *Bonne Citoyenne* had hove short, loosed her sails, and that Captain Green had expressed his determination to go to sea that night.

Captain Lawrence was ordered to return on board the *Hornet*, and make preparations to engage the enemy. An action was now confidently anticipated, both by the officers of the *Constitution*, and by the English officers who were their prisoners. Captain Green had indeed no excuse to avoid an engagement. The *Constitution* was now in the harbour of St. Salvador, under the command of the batteries on shore

where she might have been detained for ten days, by application to the governor.

Notwithstanding this favourable opportunity to meet an equal force, and under equal circumstances, yet prudential considerations, and such as do not often characterize his countrymen, induced the commander of the *Bonne Citoyenne* to decline the proffered combat.

Commodore Bainbridge landed all his prisoners on parole of honour, not to serve during the war, or until regularly exchanged by their respective governments.

At this time an interesting interview took place on the quarter deck of the *Constitution* between the two wounded commanders. While Captain Lambert was lying on his cot on deck, Commodore Bainbridge approached him supported by two of his officers, for the purpose of exchanging the salutations of parting. On this occasion he presented to the gallant Lambert his side-arms, and observed with unaffected emotion, "I return your sword, my dear sir, with my sincerest wish that you will recover, and wear it as you have hitherto done, with honour to yourself and country."

This magnanimous conduct made a deep impression on the British officers, who, with corresponding feelings, tendered the commodore their warmest thanks for his kind and delicate attentions to their wounded and greatly beloved commander.

The benevolent and delicate attentions of the United States officers to their prisoners inspired them with great admiration of the American character, and called forth the liveliest expressions of gratitude.

Lieutenant General Hislop had on board the *Java* a quantity of valuable plate, which, with every other article claimed either by himself or his officers as personal property, was carefully restored to them.

The subjoined correspondence places the character of Commodore Bainbridge in an interesting point of view, and

must be to his countrymen a gratifying evidence of the high sense of honour and generosity which has been always his distinguishing characteristic.

"St. Salvador, January 3, 1813.

"DEAR SIR,

"I am justly penetrated with the fullest sense of your very handsome and kind treatment, ever since the fate of war placed me in your power, and I beg once more to renew to you my sincerest acknowledgments for the same.

"Your acquiescence with my request in granting my parole with the officers of my staff, added to the obligations I had previously experienced, claim from me this additional tribute of my thanks. May I now finally flatter myself that in the further extension of your generous and humane feelings, in the alleviation of the misfortunes of war, that you will have the goodness to fulfil the only wish I am now anxious to see completed, by enlarging on their parole, (on the same conditions you acceded to with respect to myself,) *all* the officers of the Java still on board your ship; a favour I shall never cease duly to appreciate by your acquiescence thereto.

"I have the honour to subscribe myself, dear sir,

"Your much obliged,

"and very humble servant,

"T. HISLOP,

"Lieut. Gen. and Gov. of Bombay.

"COMMODORE BAINBRIDGE."

"U. States' Frigate Constitution,

"St. Salvador, January 3, 1813.

"DEAR SIR,

"I have received your letter of this date expressive of your feelings regarding my treatment towards you since the fate of war placed you in my power. The kind sentiments

which you have been pleased to use, are very justly appreciated by me, and far overbalance those common civilities shown by me, and which are always due to prisoners of war. I regret that the lumbered state of my ship prevented me from making you as comfortable on board, as I sincerely wished to have done. I have complied with your last request respecting paroling all the officers of the Java. In doing so, your desire, in addition to my own disposition to ameliorate as much as possible the situation of those officers, has materially influenced me.

"Permit me to tender to you, (notwithstanding our respective countries are at war,) assurances of my sincere esteem and high respect, and to assure you, that I shall feel at all times highly gratified in hearing of, and from you. With fervent wishes for the recovery of the gallant Captain Lambert, I have the honour to subscribe myself, very respectfully, &c.,

"WM. BAINBRIDGE.

"Lieut. General HISLOP,
of the British Army, &c., &c." }

"*St. Salvador, January 4, 1813.*

"DEAR SIR,

"Allow me once more to express my sincerest acknowledgments for this last instance of your kind attention to my wishes, by having complied with my request in behalf of the officers of the Java. Lieut. Chads delivered to me your very polite and obliging letter, and be assured I shall feel no less gratification at all times to hear of or from you than that which you are so good as to express you will derive in receiving information respecting myself.

"May I request now that you will be so good as to cause to be looked for a small chest, containing articles of plate, more valuable to me on account of having been presented to

me by the colony of Demerara, where I commanded for several years.

"I have the honour to be,

"with great respect,

"T. HISLOP.

"COMMODORE BAINBRIDGE."

"United States' Frigate Constitution.

"St. Salvador, January 4, 1813.

"DEAR SIR,

"It is painful to me to learn that you have lost the plate presented by the colony of Demerara. It cannot be found on board ship, and I candidly believe it is not here. If, however, it should be on board it will be found, and you may rely on my honour of sending it to England for you. If it came from the Java, I have no doubt it was taken amongst the other boxes of plate and baggage.

"With great esteem, &c.,

"WM. BAINBRIDGE.

"Lieut. General HISLOP."

"St. Salvador, January 4, 1813.

"DEAR SIR,

"I am very happy in being able to inform you, that in opening the large cases of my baggage, one of them has been found to contain two chests, one of which proves to be the one which could not be accounted for this morning, and which arose from the incorrectness of the silver-smith in numbering the packages.

"I am extremely sorry this circumstance should have occasioned you any trouble, and beg to assure you that I shall always remain, with great respect,

"Dear sir, your very ob't. serv't.

"T. HISLOP.

"COMMODORE BAINBRIDGE."

"St. Salvador, Monday, January 4th, 1813.

"Lieutenant Chads presents his compliments to Commodore Bainbridge, and is extremely sorry to inform him that Captain Lambert died a short time since."

"U. States' Frigate Constitution, January 4, 1813.

"Commodore Bainbridge has learned, with real sorrow, the death of Captain Lambert.

"Though a political enemy, he could not but greatly respect him for the brave defence he made with his ship; and Commodore Bainbridge takes this occasion to observe, in justice to Lieutenant Chads, who fought the Java after Captain Lambert was wounded, that he had done every thing for the defence of that ship which a brave and skilful officer could do, and further resistance would have been a wanton effusion of human blood."

General Hislop presented to Commodore Bainbridge a splendid gold-mounted sword, as an evidence of his gratitude for the delicate, liberal, and humane treatment which had been shown to himself and the other officers captured in the Java.

The shattered and decayed state of the Constitution, obliged the commodore to return to the U. States without delay. Before leaving St. Salvador, however, he gave to Captain Lawrence the following order.

"You will cruise off here as long as, in your judgment, you may deem it necessary, for the interception of the British ship of war Bonne Citoyenne, or some of the valuable British merchant vessels now in St. Salvador; but I should not advise you to lose much time here, without a great probability of being successful. Be on your guard against the arrival

of the Montague seventy-four, and I advise you not to rely too much on the protection of the neutral port of Bahia, against the admiral's influence to capture you even in port. On this subject consult Mr. Hill, our consul there.

"On quitting this station, you will cruise along the coast of Brazil to Pernambuco; remain off there a few days, and from thence shape your course so as to fall in with the coast of Cayenne, Surinam, and Demerara, where, it is probable, you may meet some valuable English vessels that trade to these parts.

"From thence proceed through the West India islands, where you must arrive from the first to the middle of April; and then you are at liberty to take a short cruise, returning to the port of Boston, the place of rendezvous for my squadron.

"It is impossible to foresee events that may happen, and as positive orders often perplex and defeat the object in view, I would have you, notwithstanding what I have directed, to act very much from your own judgment, and known discretion; and I do so with perfect satisfaction, having the fullest confidence in your patriotism and abilities. Wishing you every success in the pursuit of fame and fortune,

"I am yours, &c.,

"WM. BAINBRIDGE."

After the Constitution had left the coast, the Hornet continued off the harbour of St. Salvador, blockading the Bonne Citoyenne, until the twenty-fourth of January. At this time, the Montague, a British line-of-battle ship, hove in sight, and chased her into the harbour; but night coming on, the Hornet wore ship, stood to the southward, and escaped. As it appeared to Captain Lawrence that this ship had left Rio

Janeiro for the purpose of relieving the *Bonne Citoyenne*, which he was then blockading, he determined at once to change his cruising ground. He therefore run down the coast of Brazil and Guiana until the 24th of February, when he discovered a brig to which he gave chase; but, being without a pilot, was obliged to haul off, when about two and a half leagues from the mouth of the Demerara river. About the time he relinquished the chase, he discovered a brig of war at anchor with English colours flying. In beating round the bank for the purpose of engaging her, he observed another large British brig of war edging from him.

After some manœuvring the two vessels passed each other, within half pistol shot, and exchanged broadsides. Observing the enemy in the act of wearing, he bore up, received the starboard broadside, ran him close aboard the starboard quarter, and kept up such a heavy and well directed fire, that in less than fifteen minutes the enemy surrendered. Being much cut to pieces, he hoisted his ensign, union down from the fore-rigging, as a signal of distress.

Lieutenant Shubrick was directed to board the prize, who soon returning with her first lieutenant, reported her to be his Britannic Majesty's brig *Peacock*, commanded by Captain William Peake, who was killed just before the termination of the action—that a number of her crew were killed and wounded, and the vessel was in a perilous condition, having six feet water in the hold. Both vessels were immediately anchored, and every effort made to save the crew of the sinking vessel, but unhappily without complete success. Nine of the crew of the *Peacock*, and four of the brave seamen of the *Hornet*, who were fearlessly exerting themselves to save their helpless enemy, sunk with the vessel. The gallant Lieutenant Conner, and Midshipman Cooper, in exerting themselves in the benevolent office of rescuing the lives of their conquered foes, saved themselves

with difficulty, by jumping into a boat which was lying on the booms of the wreck, as she sank into the bosom of the deep. Had it not been for the quick and violent energies of the oarsmen, she would have fallen into the eddying whirl which engulfed the larger vessel.

The precise number of the enemy who were killed never could be ascertained. Captain Peake and four men were found dead on board. The master, one of the midshipmen, the captain's clerk, the carpenter, and twenty-nine seamen, were wounded, and most of them severely.

The loss of the *Hornet* was inconsiderable, having only one man killed and two wounded. The contending forces were entirely equal, but the disparity of effect was inexplicable. It is a matter of wonder that any stoutly built vessel could be demolished in so short a period, even if she had been anchored and had not returned the fire of the *Hornet*.

At the time this action took place, the *Espiegle*, a British brig of war, mounting sixteen thirty-two pound carronades, and two long nines, was at anchor in shore within six miles, and could plainly see the action. The commander, however, discovered no disposition to bring the *Hornet* to another engagement.

In consequence of the number of prisoners, and the short allowance of provisions on board the *Hornet*, Captain Lawrence resolved to proceed at once to the United States.

The *Peacock* was about the same tonnage as the *Hornet*, and was considered one of the finest vessels of her class in the British navy. She mounted sixteen twenty-four pound carronades, two long nines, one twelve pound carronade on her top-gallant forecastle, a shifting gun, one six pounder, and two swivels mounted aft. It was found by her quarter bill, that her crew consisted of one hundred and thirty-four men.

After the destruction of the *Peacock*, the crew of the *Hor-*

net made a subscription, by which they supplied the British sailors who had lost all their clothing, with two shirts, a blue jacket and trousers to each. This act of generosity, added to other kind and delicate attentions, called forth the warmest expressions of gratitude from the captured officers.



CHAPTER VIII.

Letter of Commodore Bainbridge on the Subject of Prize Money—*Constitution* arrives in Boston—Bainbridge's Reception at Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore—Honours conferred on him by Congress and several State Legislatures—The Opinions of George the Fourth, and of Admiral Jarvis—Cruise of the *Essex*—Commodore Bainbridge appointed to the Command of the Boston Navy Yard—Laid the Keel of the Line-of-battle ship *Independence*—The Actions between the *Chesapeake* and *Shannon*—Honours conferred on Captain Broke—Naval Signals—Ship Houses.

DURING the passage of the *Constitution* from St. Salvador to the United States, Commodore Bainbridge wrote to a friend the following communication. The substantial reasons which he offered in favour of his views, made so great an impression on his government, that laws were soon after enacted to carry them into operation.

*"United States frigate Constitution,
January, 24th, 1813.*

"I am confident, my much valued friend, that none of my countrymen will receive the news of my success with more

pleasure than yourself. Had not the damage which the Constitution received in the action, but more especially the decayed state she is in, made it necessary for me to return to the United States for repairs, I should, beyond doubt, have made a most successful cruise against the enemy's commerce.

"The information I received from our consul at St. Salvador, enabled me to digest a plan of cruising for the squadron under my command, which in all human calculation must have proved successful. Should the war continue, I yet flatter myself that I shall be enabled to annoy the enemy's trade, where they least expect it.

"If I had been in a seventy-four, or had one more frigate with me, without vanity or ostentation, I may confidently assert, I should have had the honour of taking Admiral Dixon in the Montague seventy-four.

"The Java was exceedingly well fought and bravely defended. Poor Lambert, whose death I sincerely regret, was a distinguished officer and a worthy man. He has left a widow, and two helpless children; but his country makes provision for such sad events.

"I regret that I am obliged to return home, and my crew participate in this sentiment; they are, however, consoling themselves with the hope of receiving their prize money. One says, he will buy him a snug little *ship* on the highest hill he can find, that he may there, in his old age, view all our sea fights; another, that now he will marry his Poll; another, that he will send his Jack to school, &c. &c. &c.

"Poor fellows, I trust they will not be disappointed in their expectations. Twice have they willingly and gallantly encountered the enemy, and twice have they been successful. To return home now, and find they have nothing but a remnant of pay coming to them, would be extremely mortifying. It would inevitably depress their spirits, and damp that noble ardour which they have hitherto felt and

displayed. The officer may feel differently. For the performance of his duty, he feels a reward in his own bosom, and in his country's thanks.

"Patriotism, and a laudable thirst for renown, will lead *him* to court perils in defence of his country's rights. These feelings operate on the sailor also; but to keep up the high tone of his ardour, he must have prize money in view. It is prize money which stimulates the sailor; and patriotism and fame guide the officer.

"True policy, in my humble opinion, dictates the destruction of the enemy's ships after capture; for by manning them, even if they are left in a manageable situation, our ships would be so weakened in their crews, that they would be liable to be captured by an equal, or insulted by an inferior force. The act of destruction is done by the command of the captain only; the crew, who have exposed their lives equally with him, have not the right of opposition. When I ordered the *Java* to be destroyed, these considerations presented themselves to my mind with great force. Surely justice and sound policy recommend a liberal provision in their favour. In making these observations, I am not influenced by selfish motives. The applause of my countrymen has for me greater charms than all the gold that glitters; but justice to those who bravely fought under my command, and assisted me in gaining this victory, requires at my hands, an exertion in their behalf; and should it please Heaven to conduct us safe to our native shores, I shall not fail to use my best endeavours, solemnly believing, as I do, that the principle is all-important to the continued success of our navy.

"For, if it is, as I hold it, the indispensable duty of the commander to destroy the captured vessel, on account of the gauntlet he would have to run with both the prize and his own ship, (except he should be very near one of our own ports,) and the captain should receive (which is almost al-

ways the case,) all the honour, and the others no compensation; is it not natural to suppose, that the ardent desire which our seamen so strongly manifest to get into battle should diminish?

"Let that once take place, and your naval fights will not, I prophesy, be so decisive as they would be by keeping the ardour up; and how trifling an expense the compensation would be in a national point of view. The schooner which I am now despatching a prize to the *Hornet*, will give to the public treasury upwards of one hundred thousand dollars."

On the 27th of February, 1813, the noble and successful frigate *Constitution* again arrived in the harbour of Boston. Commodore Bainbridge landed next morning, was received by several officers and citizens of distinction, and was escorted by a company of light infantry to the Exchange Coffee House. He was greeted, at intervals, with repeated huzzas by the citizens.

The street leading to his hotel was decorated with flags and colours, and the merchant ships in the harbour exhibited a similarly gay appearance. A large ensign was suspended across the street from opposite houses, on which were inscribed the names of *Hull*, *Jones*, *Decatur*, and *Bainbridge*; names which had become greatly distinguished up to that period of the war.

A public dinner was given to him by the citizens of Boston, and every other attention shown which could manifest the high estimation in which his gallant services were viewed. Every where throughout the country, indeed, he received demonstrations of the respect which was entertained for his character, and grateful thanks for the important services which he had rendered to his country.

The Legislature of Massachusetts being in session when Commodore Bainbridge returned after his victory, the Senate and House of Representatives passed the following re-

solutions, which were communicated to him by the president and speaker of these respective bodies.

"SIR,

"By request of the House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, I have the honour to transmit to you the enclosed copy of their vote, wherein they have unanimously expressed the high sense which they entertain of the distinguished ability, gallantry, and generosity to the vanquished, exhibited by you particularly, and the officers and crew of the United States frigate Constitution under your command, in the late brilliant achievement; the capture of the British frigate Java: permit me to add, that I feel much personal gratification, in being in any way instrumental in bestowing applause so justly merited.

"T. BIGELOW, Speaker."

"Commonwealth of Massachusetts,

"House of Representatives, February 20, 1813.

"Whereas every event which reflects lustre on the American name, and contributes to elevate the *national character* in the view of foreign powers, ought to be distinguished and honoured by the people of the United States. And whereas the brilliant victories achieved by our gallant navy since the commencement of the present war with Great Britain, are highly calculated to produce that effect; and while they demonstrate to the nation the wisdom and patriotism of that policy which created a navy, they strongly urge upon the national government the importance of encouraging and increasing that species of force, on which the protection of our maritime rights essentially depend. It becomes the representatives of the people of Massachusetts, (whatever may be their opinions in relation to the existing war) to testify their high approbation of the gallant and able conduct of those officers and crews of the navy, to whom the fortu-

nate opportunities have occurred of giving reputation to the American arms, and of signalizing their own valour, enterprise, and nautical skill. Therefore, resolved, as the opinion of this house, that Commodores Bainbridge and Decatur, Captains Hull, and Jones, of the United States Navy, their officers and crews, in the splendid victories by them recently obtained over the British ships of war, the Java, Macedonian, Guerrier, and Frolic; and in their generous conduct to their captured enemies, have acquired for themselves a distinguished title to that consideration and applause of their fellow-citizens, which is due to a heroic and able discharge of duty, and which is the legitimate reward of the brave man, who devotes his life to the service of his country.

RESOLUTION OF THE SENATE.

*Commonwealth of Massachusetts,
In Senate, February 19, 1813.*

Resolved, That the thanks of this senate be given to Commodore William Bainbridge, and to the officers and crew of the frigate Constitution under his command, for their brilliant achievement in capturing and destroying his Britannic Majesty's frigate Java, and that the commodore be requested to communicate the same to his officers and crew, with an assurance from this branch of the legislature, that they will hold in grateful remembrance those who fell in fighting, for the essential and violated rights of their country.

Resolved, That the President of the Senate cause an attested copy of this resolution to be transmitted to Commodore Bainbridge.

On the receipt of Commodore Bainbridge's despatches, at the navy department, the President of the United States sent the following message to Congress.

"To the Senate and House of Representatives.

"I lay before Congress a letter with accompanying documents from Commodore Bainbridge, now commanding the United States frigate 'the Constitution,' reporting his capture, and destruction of the British frigate 'Java.' The circumstances of the issue of this combat afford another example of the professional skill, and heroic spirit which prevail in our naval service. The signal display of both by Commodore Bainbridge, his officers and crew, command the highest praise. This being the second instance in which the condition of the captured ship, by rendering it impossible to get her into port, has barred a contemplated reward for successful valour, I recommend to the consideration of Congress, the equity and propriety of a general provision, allowing, in such cases, both past and future, a fair proportion of the value which would accrue to the captors on the safe arrival and sale of the prize.

"JAMES MADISON."

After reading the message, the following resolution was passed.

"Resolved, by the Senate and House of Representatives of America, in Congress assembled, That the President of the United States be, and he is hereby requested to present to Captain William Bainbridge, of the frigate Constitution, a gold medal, with suitable emblems and devices, and a silver medal, with suitable emblems and devices, to each commissioned officer of the said frigate, in testimony of the high sense entertained by Congress of the gallantry, good conduct, and services of Captain William Bainbridge, his officers

and crew, in the capture of the British frigate Java, after a successful combat.

“HENRY CLAY,

“Speaker of the House of Representatives.

“WM. H. CRAWFORD,

“President of the Senate, *pro tem*.

“March 3, 1813.

“Approved.

“JAMES MADISON.”

An act was passed by Congress, at the same session, authorizing the President of the United States to distribute fifty thousand dollars to the officers and crew of the Constitution, for the capture and destruction of the Java. An authorized agent distributed this donation as prize money, during the following summer, agreeably to the regulations of the navy.

The importance of this proud and signal victory, was deeply felt, and duly appreciated in all parts of the Union.

The governor of New York was directed by the legislature of the state, to transmit the thanks of that body to Commodore Bainbridge for his gallant services.

Albany, March 5, 1813.

“SIR,

“I have the honour to present to you resolutions of the Honourable the Senate and Assembly of the state of New York, containing their unanimous vote of thanks, for the skill and valour displayed by yourself and officers, and crew of the Constitution, in the capture of the British frigate Java, and for bravely supporting the honour of the American flag, and valiantly avenging the violated rights of our country on the ocean.

"With that of the other departments of the government, I beg leave to unite my deep sense of the conduct displayed in the capture of the *Java*; and of my estimation of the distinguished gallantry of those heroes who achieved that brilliant victory.

"I have the honour to be,

"with the greatest respect,

"Your obedient servant,

"DANIEL D. TOMPKINS.

"COMMODORE WILLIAM BAINBRIDGE."

"*State of New York,*

"*In Senate, February 27, 1813.*

"*Resolved, unanimously,* That the gallantry and skill of Captain Hull, in attacking and destroying the British frigate *Guerrier*; of Captain Jones, in attacking and capturing the sloop of war *Frolic*, a ship of decidedly superior force; of Commodore Decatur, in attacking and capturing the frigate *Macedonian*; and of Commodore Bainbridge, in attacking and destroying the frigate *Java*, are events of such noble and splendid achievements; and happening in such rapid succession, as to demand from the representatives of the people of this state, a public expression of the high sense in which they are held.

"That the thanks of this legislature be presented to Captains *Hull*, *Jones*, and Commodores *Decatur* and *Bainbridge*, their officers and crews, for their cool and intrepid valour in the capture of the above-mentioned British ships, and for their bravely supporting the *American flag*, and valiantly avenging the violated rights of their country on the ocean.

"*Resolved,* That the concurrence of the Honourable the Assembly be requested, and in case of such concurrence, that his Excellency the Governor be desired to transmit a

copy of the above resolution to each of the above named officers.

“By order,

“S. VISSEHER, Clerk.”

“*State of New York,*

“*In Assembly, March 1, 1813.*”

“*Resolved, unanimously,* That this House do concur with the Honourable the Senate, in their preceding resolution.

“By order,

“JOSEPH VAN INGEN, Clerk.”

“*United States' Frigate Constitution.*

“*Boston, March 31, 1813.*

“SIR,

“I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 6th instant, enclosing resolutions of the Honourable the Senate and Assembly of the state of New York, containing their unanimous vote of thanks to myself, officers and crew of the frigate Constitution, for attacking and destroying the British frigate Java.

“Permit me, sir, through the same channel, to convey to those highly respectable legislative bodies of the state of New York, my grateful acknowledgments for the honour they have conferred on us, and to assure them, that when we are again required to fulfil our duty in opposing the enemy, we shall be animated by the remembrance of the honours our country has already liberally bestowed on us. The most grateful as well as the greatest honour an American officer can receive, is the approbation and applause of his countrymen.

“For the friendly manner, sir, in which you have been pleased to communicate the resolutions of the vote of thanks,

I beg you to accept my best wishes for your health and happiness.

“ And belive me to be,
 “ with sentiments of great respect,
 “ Your obedient servant,
 “ WILLIAM BAINBRIDGE.”

“ His Excellency,
 “ DANIEL D. TOMPKINS.” }

The subjoined proceedings of the common council of the city of New York were transmitted to Commodore Bainbridge in the following envelope.

“ *New York, April 1, 1813.*

“ Sir, -

“ It is with the highest satisfaction I communicate to you the enclosed resolution of the common council of this city.

“ You will receive it as one of those evidences of attention and gratitude, which our country is proud to show to those who have so eminently distinguished themselves by their gallantry and valour.

“ With my congratulations for the past, and best wishes for your future success, I have the honour to be,

“ Your obedient servant,
 “ P. C. VAN WYCK.”

“ *In Common Council, New York,*
 “ *March 1, 1813.*

“ The following resolution was presented, and unanimously agreed to.

“ In testimony of the high sense entertained by the common council of the gallantry and skill of Commodore Wil-

liam Bainbridge, his officers and crew of the United States frigate Constitution, in the late capture and destruction of his Britannic Majesty's frigate Java; whereby, new laurels have been acquired by our gallant navy; and a new instance offered of the practical utility of that kind of defence for the protection and encouragement of the important commercial interests of our country:—

“*Resolved*, That the freedom of the city, in a gold box, be presented to Commodore Bainbridge, and that his portrait be obtained and set up in the gallery of portraits belonging to this city: and that the thanks of the common council be presented to his officers and crew who were engaged in this achievement, so honourable to themselves and the nation.

(Extract from the minutes.)

“COMMODORE BAINBRIDGE.

“J. MORTON, &c.”

C. C. C.

“*U. States' Frigate Constitution,*

“*Boston, April 14, 1813.*

“SIR,

“The resolution of the common council of the city of New York in favour of myself, the officers and crew of the frigate Constitution, relative to our conduct in the action with the British frigate Java, has been through you gratefully received.

“Permit me, sir, to convey through the same channel, to that highly respected body, the common council, my warmest acknowledgments for the honour they have personally done me in presenting to me the freedom of the city of New York, and in giving me a place in the gallery of portraits of that city.

“Such distinguished favours from a city in which I have

spent many happy days of my juvenile years, could not fail to make a just penetration on my feelings, and to command my best wishes for the prosperity and happiness of its inhabitants.

"For the very friendly participation which you take in communicating the resolution, I beg you to accept the assurances of the sincere esteem and great respect with which

"I have the honour to be,

"Sir, your obedient and

"Very humble servant,

"WM. BAINBRIDGE.

"P. C. VAN WYCK, Esq."

The following communication announced to Commodore Bainbridge his election, as an honorary member of the New York state society of the Cincinnati.

"*New York, March 19, 1813.*

"DEAR SIR,

"It is my pleasant task, as the existing president of the New York state society of the Cincinnati, and at their request, to inform you, that at a meeting specially convened, on Wednesday the seventeenth instant, those gentlemen, being some of the few surviving companions in arms of the great and good Washington, in the war of the Revolution, have unanimously elected you as one of their distinguished fellow-citizens, an honorary member of that society, and to be their friend and the friend of their heirs male during life; to which some of your naval friends and companions have already become entitled.

"A copy of the proceedings of the society, extracted from the minutes, and certified by Captain Henry S. Dodge, their secretary, you have enclosed.

"It now remains for me to inquire from you, whether it will be agreeable to you to become one of us? and if so, what

time it is probable you will be in this city? For as it is very uncertain, nay, improbable, that you will be here on the 4th of July, the anniversary day of the society, the society have provisionally delegated the power of installation, or investiture of the order, to their Vice President General Stevens, General Giles, Colonel Troup, Major Farley, and myself, at such time as may suit your avocations, as well as private convenience, to be in this city and receive that honour, and those gentlemen are desirous to be early advised when they will be called upon to discharge the trust committed to them by their fellows.

"It would be very pleasant if the service would admit of your gallant predecessor in the same ship being here at the same time. This is, however, hardly to be expected.

"I have the honour to be,

"With great respect and consideration,

"Dear sir, your friend, and

"Very humble servant,

"RICHARD VARICK.

"COMMODORE BAINBRIDGE."

"At a general meeting of the New York state society of the Cincinnati, held in the city of New York, pursuant to public notice, the seventeenth day of March, 1813.

"*Resolved*, That whereas, by the constitution of this society, it is among other matters provided as follows, viz:

"As there are, and will at all times be men in the respective states eminent for their abilities and patriotism, whose views may be directed to the same laudable objects with those of the Cincinnati, it shall be a rule to admit such characters as honorary members of the society for their own lives only.

"This society, in testimony of the high sense which it entertains of the patriotism and abilities of Commodore William Bainbridge, of the United States frigate Constitution,

and of the meritorious services rendered by him in the destruction of his Britannic Majesty's frigate Java, Henry Lambert, Esq. commander, on the twenty-ninth of December, 1812, after an action of one hour and fifty-five minutes, do admit him, and he is hereby unanimously admitted an honorary member of the society of Cincinnati.

I certify the above to be a true extract from the records of the New York society of the Cincinnati.

• HENRY S. DODGE, Secretary.

During the month of March, Commodore Bainbridge visited Washington city. On his passage thither he was splendidly entertained, and tendered every demonstration of respect by the citizens of New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore. While in New York, he was duly *installed* as a member of the Cincinnati society, and invested with its appropriate badge. As a mark of particular respect, he was presented with a diploma which possessed the signature of General Washington.

On his arrival in Philadelphia, he was also installed an honorary member of the Cincinnati of Pennsylvania. The gentlemen of this city presented to him an elegant silver *vase*, together with a tea set of plate, on which were engraved suitable emblems and devices.

Commodore Bainbridge was now considered at the summit of his glory. Congratulations, rewards, and honours were bestowed upon him by the most prominent states and cities of the Union.

The happy union of skill and humanity which he manifested awakened admiration even in the enemy's country. Sir Benjamin Bloomfield informed a friend of the writer, that he heard the Prince Regent, afterwards George the Fourth, remark, that he would be delighted to take the officer by the hand who could fight so bravely, and afterwards behave with so much magnanimity.

The following anecdote I have extracted from an excellent manuscript biography of Commodore Bainbridge by H. A. S. Dearborn, of Boston.

"A New York gentleman being in London at the time when the news of the capture of the Java by Commodore Bainbridge arrived, and happening next day to be in company with the venerable and distinguished Admiral Jarvis, the veteran remarked that he had passed a sleepless night. It was not occasioned, he said, by the loss of his Majesty's frigate Java, but by the proud and dignified manner in which the American commander had treated his vanquished enemy. He observed, that the deportment of Bainbridge more resembled the proud bearing of a Spanish grandee to his prisoners during the days of ancient chivalry, than of a young man of a young nation, scarcely yet in the gristle of manhood. He added, that this trait of national character, which indicated so much of future greatness, had given to him, as an Englishman, much uneasiness and apprehension."

A succession of brilliant naval victories had every where inspired confidence in this "arm of our national defence," and awakened the patriotic pride of our citizens to an unrestrained enthusiasm. They proudly witnessed a brave enemy, who had been hitherto considered invincible, and who had therefore boastfully claimed the seas as her "wide domain," yield, when opportunity offered, both her "wooden walls," and maritime possessions, to the skill and gallantry of our infant navy.

The heroes of the navy became the pride and boast of the country, while their achievements shed a living lustre on our national history. Our citizens of all classes participated deeply in these triumphs. The destructive thunders of our men-of-war dispelled the cloud of prejudice which had exerted so baleful an influence on the fortunes of the navy; so that Congress became convinced of its importance, and

promptly adopted such measures for its gradual increase, as the then limited finances of the country would warrant.

While the cruises of the *Constitution* and *Hornet* were highly creditable to their commanders, officers, and crews, the frigate *Essex*, commanded by Captain Porter, which constituted one of the squadron under the command of Commodore Bainbridge, was scarcely less successful in the career of glory.

The *Essex* sailed from the river Delaware on the 27th of October, 1812, and touched at the various points of rendezvous assigned to him in Commodore Bainbridge's letter of instruction; but not meeting the squadron, and learning that the *Montague* seventy-four was in pursuit of him, he availed himself of his discretionary orders, shaped his course towards the Pacific ocean, and arrived at Valparaiso on the 14th of March, 1813. After obtaining a supply of water and provisions, he proceeded on a cruise, and was so fortunate as to release many of his captured countrymen, to recapture several American merchant vessels which had been taken by the enemy, to give protection to our valuable trade in those seas, and to entirely destroy the enemy's commerce engaged in the whale fishery. While cruising among the Gallipagos islands he captured twelve vessels chiefly engaged in the whale fishery—the whole having on board three hundred and two men, and one hundred and seven guns.

These achievements, added to the obstinate and heroic defence of the *Essex*, then in a crippled state, against the British men-of-war *Phoebe*, and *Cherub*, whose united forces were nearly double that of the American frigate, may be ranked among the most brilliant efforts of the war.

No squadron of equal strength ever sailed from any country, which accomplished more than did that under the command of Commodore Bainbridge. The glorious achievements of the *Constitution*, *Essex*, and *Hornet*, became themes of general exultation.

When this gallant little squadron left the United States, the chance of return was thought to be improbable. The awful disparity of force against which our few national ships had to contend, while it excited the strongest apprehensions on the part of our citizens, never for a moment caused our officers to falter, or to lessen their anxiety to measure strength and skill with an enemy who had hitherto undervalued them. All, however, that could be achieved by skill, patriotism, and undaunted hearts, was anticipated, for the fame of our naval heroes had been already blazoned on our national escutcheon.

Notwithstanding these discouraging forebodings, the cruise proved of great importance to our country and disastrous to the enemy.—The destruction of a frigate and sloop of war, and a valuable packet ship on the coast of Brazil, by the *Constitution* and *Hornet*, the capture of twelve valuable merchant ships, and the recapture of a number of American ships which had fallen into the hands of the enemy in the Pacific ocean, by the *Essex*, were exploits of no common character.

It is said that Captain Porter captured and destroyed property belonging to the enemy, to the amount of at least two and a half millions of dollars, while his presence in those seas had preserved from capture an equal amount of American property.

A very short period before Commodore Bainbridge returned from his successful cruise, a law was passed by Congress to authorize the building of three line-of-battle ships. As one of these was to be laid at the Boston navy yard, he was requested to superintend the building of it. With this view he resigned the command of the *Constitution* in March, 1813, and accepted an appointment to the navy yard at Charlestown, and of the eastern naval stations, which included Rhode Island, New Hampshire and Maine.

As there was no convenience for either building or repairing ships at this navy yard, the commodore submitted plans, with an estimate, for the erection of wharves, ways, and store-houses, to the secretary of the navy. To these recommendations, the government consented; and measures were at once taken to prepare the yard for building the Independence seventy-four. So active was he in urging forward the improvements, that on the eighteenth of August her keel was laid, which was the first line-of-battle ship which had been commenced in the United States. As the frame of this ship was moulded in the years 1798-'99 and 1800, in conformity to a draught then made, the commodore found it impossible to construct her upon the form and dimensions which he deemed most advisable.

He then thought it important that all our national ships should exceed in size and equipment the same class in the possession of the enemy. By having them so constructed, victory would be rendered certain in all single combats.

If our ships were larger, and contained a greater force than those of other nations, they could not cruise against us ship for ship. In single fights we could conquer, and soon afterwards be in a condition to commence another engagement, a matter of great importance, so long as our navy is so much inferior in point of numbers. These views were repeatedly urged on the secretary of the navy until adopted, and all vessels built since that period have been constructed in accordance with the above suggestions.

While Commodore Bainbridge commanded the Boston station, the United States' frigate Chesapeake sailed from that harbour to encounter the British frigate Shannon, then in the offing. The result of this action, and the causes which led to it, are familiarly known to the nation. The joy which this victory awakened in England, and the honours which were conferred on Captain Broke, afford the highest compliment which our little navy had previously received.

When, before, were the Tower guns fired for the capture of a single frigate? The English now proclaimed, that all their previous defeats resulted from the superiority in the force of the United States vessels, and that victory would always perch on their standard, whenever the strength and weight of metal of the contending ships were perfectly equal. They have a perfect right to explain their numerous disasters in their own way, but this declaration is, for the most part, incorrect; for in several of the engagements, the forces on each side were perfectly equal, and in the instance of the United States ship *Wasp*, and British brig of war *Frolic*, the superiority was on the side of the enemy, the latter having four more guns than the former.

These attempts, which were made to lessen the importance of our naval victories, were reiterated throughout the British press, until our officers felt no small degree of indignation. Under the influence of such feeling, Commodore Bainbridge addressed a letter to the secretary of the navy on the subject, of which the following is an extract.

“We have two frigates, rated thirty-six guns—the *Congress* and *Constellation*, and should the latter vessel be without a commander, and Admiral Warren will agree to an engagement between her and the best thirty-eight gun frigate under his command, I beg leave to offer my services on that occasion, as commander of the frigate *Constellation*.”

This bold movement on the part of the commodore was not encouraged by the government, though it applauded the spirit and patriotism in which it originated. The government did not consider that challenges to single combat were strictly within the bounds of national morals; but when they grew out of circumstances beyond the control of the executive, it was not necessarily considered a subject for inquiry, or of condemnation.

If zeal for the character and honour of the navy, ani-

mated by heroic aspirations for military glory, induced an officer to offer combat on equal terms, and when *so situated* as not to require the approbation of his government, then neither public feeling nor national dignity is, in any degree, offended.

By the loss of the frigate *Chesapeake*, our naval signals fell into the hands of the enemy. This circumstance rendered the preparation of a new code necessary; and Commodores Bainbridge, Decatur and Hull, were constituted a board, with directions from the secretary of the navy to perform this duty.

The attention of the officers who were associated with him being engaged, at that period, in other important duties, Bainbridge prepared the signals himself, and transmitted them to the navy department. The private signals were so formed, as to make a discovery of them impossible, except through treachery. The numerical, private, day, night and fog signals were highly approved of, and were immediately introduced into the navy. The system of naval telegraph, thus hastily prepared, has continued in use ever since.

Commodore Bainbridge had often observed with concern, that great abuses were practised by commanders in the repair and equipment of vessels, arising from their various tastes and predilections. In a communication to the navy department, he stated, that he wished to see some regulations adopted for the government of officers while engaged on this duty. He lamented to witness the capricious disposition of commanders to alter and undo what had been previously executed by a predecessor; being always attended with considerable expense, and the alteration was as frequently injurious as beneficial. He deprecated this idle and improper course, and expressed the opinion that it could not be prevented without some positive regulation on the subject by the navy department. In consequence of these representations, Commodores Bainbridge and Morris were di-

rected to report a code of rules and regulations on this subject. In the autumn of 1813 these regulations had been digested and arranged, and soon afterwards reported to the navy department. They were acknowledged to be most useful and instructive.

During the autumn of 1813, and spring of 1814, Commodore Bainbridge had advanced rapidly in his improvements of the navy yard at Charlestown. The hull of the seventy-four was in progress—the sloops of war, *Frolic* and *Wasp*, named after the captured ships, were built under his direction, and were equipped, and sailed in February under the commands of Captains Joseph Bainbridge and Blakely.

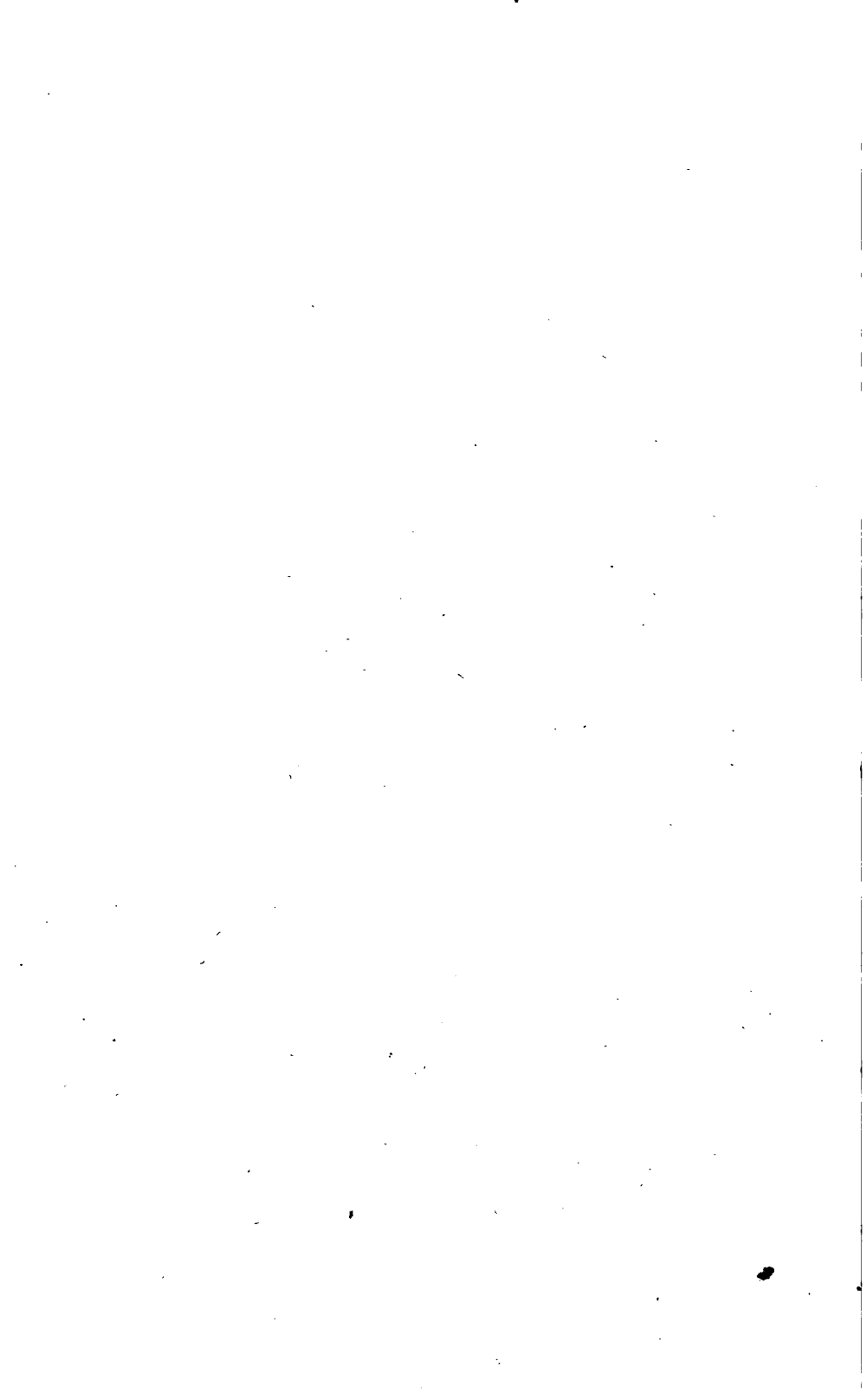
The frigate *Constitution* was also thoroughly repaired, and sailed in December, 1813, under the command of Commodore Stewart. Always blest with able commanders, officers, and crews, she soon proved again triumphant, and was not long in returning to port with a small frigate and sloop of war in her train.

In northern climates, it is found impracticable for mechanics to labour advantageously during the inclement season of winter. Anxious to urge forward the completion of the seventy-four as rapidly as possible, Commodore Bainbridge proposed, in a letter to the secretary of the navy, dated August 21st, 1813, to construct houses over the ship's ways, then building at Charlestown and Portsmouth. The workmen being thus protected, would be able not only to labour with more celerity, but with more neatness and efficiency. The vessels themselves, if not sooner required, might remain on the stocks for half a century, without suffering any material deterioration. The advantages proposed were so apparent, that the secretary of the navy did not hesitate to authorize the immediate erection of the houses.

Similar houses have since been erected at all the building yards in the United States. By this improvement, mechanics are enabled to labour throughout the winter, with

as much advantage to the public, and convenience to themselves, as in the pleasant months of summer.

The distinguished British naval architect, Sir Robert Seppings, having learned from this experiment, the great advantages of such structures, he suggested to the board of admiralty, in the year 1816, to direct similar edifices to be erected at all the principal navy yards in that kingdom.



CHAPTER IX.

Ports of New England threatened by the Enemy—Exertions made to protect the Harbour of Boston—Letters to General Brooks—Boston Committee—How received—Harrison Gray Otis addresses the Town Meeting—Plan of Defence—Blockade of the Harbour removed—Proposes a Cruise for the *Independence*—Proposes the Formation of a Navy Board—War declared against Algiers—Commissioners to form a Treaty of Peace—Peace made—A Misunderstanding with the Governor of Malaga—Return to Gibraltar—Orders to Captain Shaw—Arrives in Boston—A Letter from Mr. Monroe and Mr. Crowninshield—A Letter to Mr. Felsh—Officers placed on Half Pay—A Proposition to reduce the Navy.

IN the early part of the summer of 1814, it was apprehended that a powerful land and naval force was preparing at Halifax and Bermuda, destined for the destruction of the principal sea ports in New England. The navy yards of Boston and Portsmouth were the points which most invited attacks. The seventy-fours, frigates, and smaller vessels now moored at these places, together with the valuable naval and military stores, were thought important objects, which it was for the interest of Great Britain to destroy.

Commodore Bainbridge made every exertion which his limited means would warrant to afford protection to the na-

tional property. The Independence seventy-four was launched, guns were mounted on board of her, and so anchored in connexion with the frigate Constitution as to rake the harbour, and inflade any squadron of boats which might attempt to carry the navy yard by assault. He erected, besides, three small batteries on the eastern embankment of the yard, on which were mounted twenty-four cannon, placed a line of palisades across the wharf, and mounted some heavy cannon in the rear of them, which commanded the passage to the yard. He placed other guns so as to enable him to rake the estuary of the Mystic river. A chain of sentinels were stationed round the yard and wharf, and every preparation made for a vigorous defence. The militia of Charlestown and Boston volunteered their services, mounted guard in different parts of the town, and manifested a patriotic determination to contribute to the defence of the station. As the enemy now appeared off the harbour with a large force, the commodore deemed it prudent to confer with the adjutant general of the state in relation to the adoption of such measures as might conduce to the protection of the navy yard and harbour of Boston. Owing, however, to causes which the commodore could not comprehend, he did not observe that zeal and activity manifested by the state authorities which the alarming emergency required. Feeling deeply the responsibility of his situation, he endeavoured to awaken in them, by the following communications, a disposition more congenial with his own.

"Navy Yard, Charlestown,

"June the 12th, 1814.

"SIR,

"I entertained a hope that I would have heard from you before this on the subject of my verbal communications.

"The force of the enemy at the mouth of our harbour

has been increased; and, from their known character for enterprise, I think an attack on this place a probable event, unless some measures of defence are speedily adopted to prevent it. With the enemy at our threshold, when the interests of both the general and state government are in jeopardy, I sincerely hope it will not be a question which of them shall repel the assault. If the enemy should enter these waters with a view to the destruction of this establishment, the resistance which most assuredly will be made, must endanger the towns of Boston and Charlestown.

"Feeling, as I sincerely do, for the interest and safety of this section of our country in the present hour of peril, I shall exert all the means within my power, not only for the protection of this important post, but for the security of the harbour and town of Boston.

"You will oblige me by laying this communication before his excellency, the governor of the commonwealth of Massachusetts, and by informing me of his excellency's determination on the subject, you will oblige,

"Dear sir, yours with sentiments.

"of high respect,

"WM. BAINBRIDGE.

"General JOHN BROOKS,

"Adjutant General of, &c."

"Navy Yard, Charlestown,

"June 13th, 1814.

"SIR,

"The force of the enemy in Boston Bay justifies, in my opinion, apprehensions of an attack being made on this place, and calls for united exertions to repel it.

"The important public property intrusted to my charge within this establishment, might, in such an event, suffer severely, and would, in a considerable degree, expose the towns of Boston and Charlestown. I hope, therefore, that

such measures will be adopted, as shall guard against the threatening danger.

"I beg leave to particularly recommend that orders be given to the militia in this neighbourhood to hold themselves in readiness to act immediately when they hear the signal of alarm; that a guard with two pieces of artillery be stationed on this side of Chelsea Bridge to give the alarm, and to repel the enemy if advancing by that passage; and that videttes be placed on the heights beyond Chelsea meeting-house, to watch the movements of the enemy, and to make them known, if of moment.

"Should his excellency the governor be pleased to direct the foregoing arrangements to be made, it will contribute to the safety of the United States' property within this navy yard, and the capital of the state.

"Annexed are the signals which will be made in case of alarm, when the assistance of five or six hundred militia might prove of the utmost importance to the preservation of the public stores, and the national vessels at this place.

"I am, dear sir, &c., &c.,

"WM. BAINBRIDGE.

"General Brooks," &c., &c.

A part only of the measures recommended by Commodore Bainbridge were acceded to, and adopted.

A committee was directed by the governor and council to propose to him to remove the line-of-battle ship and frigate below forts Independence and Warren. The commodore informed the committee that he had disposed of his force according to his best judgment, and could not act in obedience to suggestions which he deemed unsound. If the ships were removed to the situation proposed, the forts could not co-operate with them, and they would be subject to the same fire as the fleet of the enemy, by which the two most

commanding works for the protection of the town of Boston would thus be rendered inefficient.

The committee observed that the public ships were the exclusive objects of attack; and if the Independence and Constitution remained at their present anchorage, the fire of the enemy would be drawn on the towns of Boston and Charlestown, and thus involve them in the ruin of the national property. Bainbridge with warmth replied, that the government had confided to him an important command, and no temporizing expedients would induce him to alter the system of defence which he had originally planned. He was then asked, that if the people of Boston should decline all measures of defence, in consequence of his refusing to move the ships to the places proposed, whether that consideration would not induce him to yield? to which he firmly replied, *No*, nor any other consideration whatever. If the people of Boston, he added, should refuse to defend their houses and property, they alone must be answerable for the neglect. The public property did not belong to any particular *administration*, but to the *nation*, and he regretted to observe that a portion, he believed a very small portion of the citizens of that vicinity, in manifesting a hostility to the one, should give evidence of a want of proper zeal in their duty to the other. For his own part, he would act like an American, and do all that was incumbent on him as an officer of the United States.

Bainbridge informed the committee that he was determined to defend his command to the last extremity, let the consequences be what they might. If the citizens chose to make their interests a separate one from that of the nation, let the terrible consequences fall where they deserve. Duty and honour dictated the course which he should pursue.

Other attempts were made by individual consultations to induce the commodore to change his plan of defence; but he

remained firm to his purpose, and devoted his whole energies to the organization and proper disposition of his force.

The danger evidently increasing towards autumn, the President of the United States transmitted to Major General Dearborn the necessary instructions for the defence of the north-eastern military district. This officer's exertions were not seconded by proper zeal on the part of the executive of the state. The requisitions which were made on him by the President of the United States, to detach a body of militia to garrison the forts on the sea-coast, were not obeyed, and he refused to co-operate with General Dearborn for the common defence. The executive alleged that an officer of the general government had no constitutional claim to call out and command the militia, except in cases where it was necessary "to execute the laws of the union, suppress insurrection, and to repel invasion." Such exigencies he thought had not presented themselves. This doctrine has been since formally repudiated by the legislature of Massachusetts.

The variance of opinion between the state and national executives, tended greatly to increase the general alarm. It was found difficult to properly man all our forts from the regular army, and to prevent the devastating excursions which marked the conduct of the enemy on the southern coast. The British army, now re-enforced by the victorious troops of Wellington, seconded by a powerful navy, threatened our country throughout our maritime frontier. Added to this, the district of Maine was conquered as far as Penobscot, the city of Washington conflagrated, Baltimore assailed, and many villages on the Chesapeake plundered and laid in ashes, and still the spirit of the Revolution slumbered.

The patriotic of both political parties, however, urged the necessity of the immediate adoption of such measures as the crisis demanded. Meetings were called throughout the sea-board to recommend the adoption of strong measures for the common defence.

A public call was made on the citizens of Boston to assemble for this purpose, and previously to the day on which they were to meet, Commodore Bainbridge addressed the subjoined letter to the Honourable Harrison Gray Otis. This gentleman, to his honour be it said, warmly participated in the discussion of the day, and by his eloquence infused such zeal into the breasts of his auditory, as to cause them to adopt, without hesitation, the salutary measures recommended by the patriotic Bainbridge,

"Navy Yard, Charlestown,

"September 3d, 1814.

"SIR,

"At the approaching town meeting I sincerely hope you will advocate preparatory measures of defence. The influence of your opinion is great, and believe me if you exert it to that object you will render essential benefit to your country, and protection to your native town. I am decidedly of opinion, that if the following measures should be adopted, the citizens of Boston and its vicinity may sleep in perfect security, viz:

"A battery on Noddle's Island of heavy cannon; temporary breast-works on North End Battery wharf, May's, and Long wharves, to mount four or six eighteen pounders each; a few cannon placed on Dorchester Flats and Heights; three eighteen pounders on Long Island Head, with a picket guard of forty or fifty men; videttes stationed on Chelsea Woods and Heights, and on Nantucket Heights; redoubts on the Neck, west end of Chelsea and of Malden Bridges; with proper arrangements to destroy those bridges, on the approach of an enemy, would, in my opinion, give complete security against any views or objects that the enemy might have against us.

"I have no hesitation in pledging my opinion as an officer, that the adoption of these measures, would, in all moral pro-

bability, secure us from any attack of the enemy; if not, it would certainly enable us to make a better defence, and I doubt not an honourable one.

"The defence, by these precautionary measures, would be much less than at a first view of the subject might be conceived. You may naturally suppose, my dear sir, that I feel great responsibility, and have great desire to be secure in the important trust committed to me; but I pray you, however, not to form hasty misconceptions on this communication. I assuredly feel the importance of my command, and the duty I owe to my country; and I trust, with the fullest confidence, that the naval force in the harbour under my direction, will do its duty faithfully, in the event of an attack. I have, therefore, no apprehensions on that head, for I may gain public approbation in an able defence.

"Yet, sir, I am deeply interested for the safety of the towns of Boston and Charlestown in such an event, and should be highly gratified at the adoption of such measures for their defence, (as much as for the national property within my command,) as it is in the power of the commonwealth to apply. I wish to see measures taken for the security of *all*, which could be so readily and cheaply applied.

"These observations, thrown hastily together, after midnight, will, I am confident, be received by you with that disposition which the friendship which subsists between us authorizes me to anticipate.

"Believe me to be, with great respect,

"Your ob't. servant,

"WM. BAINBRIDGE."

His patriotic importunities, and devoted zeal as an officer, sustained as he was by many of the most eminent citizens of Boston, and by the public voice, the resources of the state

were at length fully drawn forth. The militia were called out, redoubts and breast-works were erected, hulks moored in the channel, and prepared to be sunk on the approach of the enemy, and such other arrangements as the times and the occasion seemed to require. As the commodore had predicted, these preparations completely secured Boston and its dependencies from any attack from the enemy. The British commanding officer, learning that the spirit of the people was roused, and that every arrangement was made to give them a rough reception, very prudently changed his determination with regard to his contemplated onset, and directed his course to the south.

It is due to the people of Boston, as well as to Commodore Bainbridge, to state, that he never for a moment doubted their patriotism, and always attributed the want of zeal which he lamented, to the effects of former political feuds, of which they could not divest themselves until danger threatened. When the peril was the greatest, they boldly marched to the rescue, and thus proved that the stout hearts of the Revolution continued to beat for their country.

Being now relieved from all painful apprehensions with regard to the navy yard and line-of-battle ship, he urged the carpenters to complete her as fast as practicable. After she was rigged, and only waited for her guns and crew to be prepared for a cruise, Commodore Bainbridge signified his wishes to the secretary of the navy in the following private letter.

*"Navy Yard, Charlestown,
"October 22, 1813.*

"MY DEAR SIR,

"I feel extremely anxious to get to sea during this winter, to establish the fact that we are able successfully to fight Great Britain in other classes of vessels besides those of frigates and sloops of war. By having the guns sent to me,

and a draught of men from the lakes, I could employ an excellent ship on a cruise against the enemy, and if not as successful as I could wish, will not, I pledge you, detract from the reputation of the navy. If you think it possible that the *Independence* can be got to sea this winter, I would be very much obliged to you to inform me of it, and to permit me to give you my ideas of a plan for her cruise.

"In fact, I would willingly travel to Washington to communicate with you verbally on so desirable an object. Believing as I do, that the war must inevitably continue some time longer, before the enemy will be disposed to treat on terms compatible with our national honour and interest; and the more we make her pride and commerce feel our exertions, the sooner will she recover from the delusion into which she has been thrown by her past success, which has been for many years almost uninterrupted.

"It will take, comparatively speaking, but a small sum to get the *Independence* to sea; and if she is sent, I pledge my life that you will be gratified with the cruise.

"Do you not think that an advisable cruise might be made with the *Independence*, a frigate, and a small tender in the China seas? The British trade in that quarter is immensely valuable; and besides, I might come athwart a small squadron of the enemy, such as would not exceed in strength that under my own command.

"With hopes of soon hearing from you,

"I am very sincerely yours,

"WM. BAINBRIDGE.

"THE HONOURABLE WM. JONES, }
 "Secretary of the Navy." }

The secretary of the navy was made fully sensible of the importance of getting the line-of-battle ship on a cruise as early as possible; but the transportation of her guns from the south by land during the winter season was considered im-

practicable. The danger of capture forbid a coast conveyance. From these circumstances, the secretary of the navy decided to wait until the return of good roads, before any attempt should be made to forward the necessary armament.

While the commodore was thus anxiously waiting for the period to arrive when he might again try his fortune on an element, which but a short time before had witnessed his brilliant success, the news of *Peace* with England reached this country. Though this intelligence was received by him, for many reasons, with much gratification, yet it added to the poignancy of the regrets which he had previously felt, that he had been unable to get to sea the previous autumn, in order that he might have had an opportunity of endeavouring to break the charm of British invincibility in their own favourite class of vessels.

Long experience in naval concerns, convinced Commodore Bainbridge that the administration of the navy never can be wisely conducted without professional knowledge. In a letter to a member of the naval committee, in answer to a communication on the subject of rules and regulations for the government of the navy, he remarks:

"I am decidedly of opinion that the desirable object which your committee has been instructed to obtain cannot be effectually or successfully accomplished without the aid of a board of naval commissioners composed of the best nautical skill of your naval service.

"Officers thus appointed would be enabled to create and digest a system for the better government of the navy, and report the same for the approbation and confirmation of Congress. The advantage would be not only in having a system in theory, but, with such assistance to the secretary of the navy, it would be practically adopted. To expect any secretary of the navy, however well qualified for the station, to be enabled to perform all the multifarious duties

which at present devolve upon him, would be expecting impossibilities, which I am confident any gentleman who has filled it will readily acknowledge.

“The organization of a system so complicated as the whole of a naval establishment, cannot be immediately regulated. To correct abuses and create improvements will require time, and can be only done by competent and faithful officers invested with proper power. I am certain that in less than one year after the appointment of a board of able commissioners, the propriety and advantages of such a measure would be fully demonstrated.”

In conformity to the above recommendation, the secretary of the navy submitted to Congress a project for the establishment of a board of naval commissioners. At the close of the session of 1814-'15, such a board was authorized by law, and was soon afterwards organized. Commodore Bainbridge was not appointed one of the first naval commissioners, as he was then engaged in another important service. He was, however, the first to suggest the necessity of establishing this highly important improvement in the administration of the concerns of the navy.

Shortly after the commencement of hostilities with Great Britain, war was declared against the United States by the regency of Algiers. Having happily adjusted our difficulties with England, our government made hasty preparations to protect our valuable commerce in the Mediterranean. Congress declared war against Algiers, on the second of March, 1815. Two squadrons were ordered to be fitted out immediately; one at Boston, under the command of Commodore Bainbridge, and the other at New York, under the command of Commodore Decatur. The latter squadron sailed first, though both were to be united under the command of Bainbridge on his arrival in the Mediterranean.

Commodores Bainbridge, Decatur, and William Shaler,

Esq., consul general of Barbary, were appointed commissioners to negotiate a treaty of peace with the regency of Algiers.

On the thirteenth of June, the squadron commanded by Decatur, arrived at Gibraltar—on the seventeenth fell in with and captured the Algerine frigate *Mazouda* off Cape De Gatte, and on the nineteenth took a large man-of-war brig off Cape Palos. He sent the captured vessels into Carthage, and proceeded at once to Algiers, where, after a few days, an advantageous treaty of peace was negotiated.

The squadron under the command of Commodore Bainbridge arrived in the Mediterranean on the fifth of August, and learning that hostilities had terminated, he wrote the subjoined letter to the secretary of the navy.

"Peace having taken place with the regency of Algiers, it only now remains for me to obey your instructions, by exhibiting the squadron off Tunis and Tripoli, and by leaving one frigate and two smaller vessels near the *Gut of Gibraltar*, and then return to Newport, with the remainder of the squadron, where I shall expect to arrive some time in November next."

Learning that some difficulty had occurred between the Bashaw of Tripoli and Tunis, and the United States consuls residing there, Bainbridge proceeded to those ports, and on his way touched at Algiers with the view of exhibiting the additional naval force under his command. He was well aware of the importance of giving the *Deu* ocular demonstration of the extent and resources of the naval power of this country. Faithless as regards political obligations, the only way by which the friendship of this people can be preserved, is by operating on their fears.

The misunderstandings both at Tunis and Tripoli had been adjusted by Decatur, before the arrival of the second squadron. Commodore Bainbridge was informed, however,

by the several consuls, that the display of his squadron immediately after the departure of that under the command of Commodore Decatur, had a happy influence in checking the pride and rapacity of the Barbary chiefs. By thus affording them an evidence, not only of the extent and resources of the United States, but of their prompt disposition to repel encroachments on their maritime rights, she would secure a lasting peace and courteous treatment to our agents. The friendly relations which have since subsisted between the United States and these regencies, afford the best proof of the character of the impression which was then made.

The squadron soon afterwards sailed for Malaga, and while lying at anchor in that harbour, a seaman deserted from the line-of-battle ship Independence. The deserter was seized in the streets by one of the United States' officers; but upon declaring himself a Spanish subject, and claiming protection as such, he was released by a military guard, and carried to the quarters of the general of marine. The commodore being informed of these transactions, waited on the governor, and demanded the restoration of the deserter. The governor referred him to the general of marine, on whom he called and made a similar demand, which was peremptorily refused. The commodore returned to the governor, and assured him that unless the seaman was restored immediately, he was determined to take him by force. He considered his detention an insult to the flag of his country, which should not be submitted to with impunity. If this man had been secreted in a private house, he should not use violence to recover him; but being detained by an officer of the Spanish government, he must consider the act as hostile to the United States, and act accordingly.

On departing from the house of the governor, he declared in a tone which sufficiently indicated his determined purpose, that unless the man was sent on board the Indepen-

dence in half an hour, he would land five hundred men, and take him from the quarters of the general of marine. If resistance were made, he would open the fire of the squadron upon the town. This firm conduct so speedily worked a change in the sentiments of the governor and general of marine, that the commodore had scarcely reached the boat when the seaman was delivered by a guard of soldiers.

A few days after these transactions he sailed hence for Gibraltar, where it was his intention to await the arrival of the first squadron. On entering the harbour he saluted the garrison with seventeen guns, which was returned with only fifteen. Though the commodore was satisfied that this omission was either the result of accident, or a misunderstanding, yet, always alive to the honour of the flag which proudly waved over his squadron, he never would suffer it, from any cause, to be treated with disrespect. He therefore despatched an officer to request that an equal number of guns be returned to the salute which he had fired. Governor Don promptly ordered this to be done—explained the cause of the omission, and offered an apology which was entirely satisfactory.

So soon as the object of the expedition was attained, he was directed by the secretary of the navy, to detail a frigate and two sloops of war, for the protection of our commerce in the Mediterranean, and return with the rest of the squadron to the United States. As this force was not considered altogether sufficient, he took upon himself the responsibility of adding to it another frigate. The command of this little squadron was conferred on Captain Shaw, to whom he gave the following orders.

“SIR,

“I shall leave the following vessels in the Mediterranean, viz. the frigates United States and Constellation, and

sloops of war Ontario and Erie; and as you will be the senior officer, the command will devolve on you.

"The object of leaving this force is to watch the conduct of the Barbary powers, particularly that of Algiers,—to guard against, as far as the force under your command can do, any depredations they may be disposed to commit, and to give protection to the commerce of the citizens of the United States.

"For your rendezvous, you will select Gibraltar, Cadiz, or Malaga, whichever may, in your judgment, appear most advantageous. Enclosed is a list of articles daily expected in the United States ships John Adams and Alért, and which are to be disposed of agreeably to the directions on said list, when the vessels must be ordered to proceed, with the least possible delay, to New York.

"You must occasionally show the force under your command off Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli, and keep up a regular communication with William Shaler, Esq., our consul at Algiers. Keep the navy department informed of your movements, and the state of our affairs with Barbary.

"I am, sir,

"Your obedient servant,

"WM. BAINBRIDGE."

Having made the necessary arrangements for the protection of our commerce against the pirates of Barbary, Commodore Bainbridge sailed from Gibraltar on the sixth of October, and safely arrived in Newport on the fifteenth of November, 1815. The vessels under his immediate command, added to those which he had stationed in the Mediterranean, formed the largest squadron which was ever before fitted out in the United States.

The health and discipline of the crew—the neatness and perfect equipment of the vessels, together with the correct and gentleman-like deportment of the officers, made a fa-

yourable impression, and elicited expressions of admiration wherever the squadron appeared. Though sufficient time had hardly elapsed to wear away the asperities occasioned by the recent war with Great Britain, yet, whenever their officers met ours, there existed the utmost courtesy. His Excellency Governor Don was in every way cordial, but particularly so to Commodore Bainbridge.

This prompt display of our naval strength, so soon after the termination of hostilities with Great Britain, evinced both the ability and disposition of the United States, to afford protection to our citizens and commerce in all situations.

Before the authorities of Barbary had received an intimation of the restoration of peace with the great naval power of Europe, our squadron appeared before their capitals—had captured several of their vessels, and soon afterwards made Algiers sue for peace—obliged Tunis to refund the amount of American property which they permitted the English cruisers to take out of their harbour—and compelled Tripoli to offer an apology for the insult offered to the United States consul, and again to hoist the flag of the United States over the consul's house, accompanied by a salute of twenty-four guns. Most of these ends were achieved by Commodore Decatur before the arrival of Bainbridge, yet the government was perfectly pleased and gratified with the manner in which he performed the duties assigned to him, as will appear from the following letters from the secretaries of state and of the navy.

" Department of State,

" December 5, 1815.

" SIR,

" I have had the honour to receive your letters of September the sixth, and November the fifteenth, communicating the movements of the squadron under your command, in the

late expedition to the Mediterranean, and to submit them to the consideration of the President.

"I am instructed to inform you, that all the measures which you adopted, in obedience to your orders in presenting your squadron before Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli, and in providing for the safety of our commerce in that sea, are approved by the President, and that he has the fullest confidence, had an opportunity been offered for signalizing the gallantry which you and the officers under you have displayed on former occasions, that the result would have been equally glorious.

"I have the honour to be,

"Very respectfully,

"Your obedient servant,

"JAMES MONROE.

"COMMODORE BAINBRIDGE."

"*Navy Department.*

"*November 27, 1815.*

"SIR,

"I have the honour to acknowledge your several letters of the 15th, 16th, and 19th, current.

"The copies of correspondence and your journal have been submitted to the President of the United States, who has expressed his entire approbation of your conduct. I am happy in being the organ of communicating to you the satisfaction which the President feels at the successful result of the expedition to the Mediterranean, in which your services are fully appreciated, from a conviction, that, had circumstances rendered them farther necessary to the accomplishment of the object, you would have added to the lustre of your fame, and nautical reputation, and fulfilled the high expectations of your country and government.

"The judicious arrangements made under your direction, and the superior organization and discipline of our ships, during the short and important period of your command, will receive the meed of praise and national respect to which you are justly entitled, while the '*marked attention*,' you have received from the officers of that nation, with which we were lately at war, must afford to you the highest satisfaction, in reflecting upon the distinguished share you sustained in the glorious conflict which established our naval character.

The other subjects of your letter, shall receive due consideration, and prompt attention.

"I have the honour to be,

"Sir, very respectfully,

"Your obedient servant,

"B. W. CROWNINSHIELD.

"COMMODORE BAINBRIDGE."

Orders were transmitted to the commodore, to send part of the squadron under his command to New York, and proceed with the remainder to Boston, where, with the exception of the *Independence*, they were all dismantled and placed in ordinary.

Commodore Bainbridge continued in command of the *Independence*, and of the Boston station for several years. During this period, his favourite ship was supplied with her full complement of officers, and about two-thirds of her crew. From the perfect condition of this vessel, and from the high state of discipline maintained, she was the admiration of the numerous visitors with which she was daily honoured.

Anxious to afford the officers under his command all the opportunities for improvement which he could control, he

established a school in the navy yard, which was placed, by the following order, under the direction of the Rev. Mr. Felsh, a chaplain of the navy.

"United States' ship Independence,

"Boston Harbour, December 10, 1815.

"**SIR,**

"I have to direct, that you open a naval school within the navy yard at Charlestown, in such apartments as Captain Hull may assign to you, for the purpose of instructing the officers of the squadron in those branches of mathematics, which appertain to their profession.

"The school must be opened every day in the week, Sunday excepted,—the hours of study must be from nine, A. M. to one, P. M. You will daily report to me the names of the officers who attend. Once a fortnight, you will make to me a general report of the respective branches of study in which each officer is engaged, accompanied with candid remarks on their conduct, attention, and progress.

"I am, &c.

"WM. BAINBRIDGE.

"**THE REV. MR. FELSH.**"

By thus giving the junior officers habits of study and industry, he preserved their morals, and improved their professional acquirements.—To prevent the officers under his command, while in port, from falling into habits of idleness—a habit so easily acquired, and difficult to be shaken off, he made it an invariable rule to give them employment. For this purpose he obliged the officers of the Independence to keep their regular watches, and to perform their duty precisely in the same way, which it would be necessary to do, if the ship were in daily expectation of

sailing.—By this course, the younger officers acquired a knowledge of their duty, and by which, also, they were prevented from

“—— living dully, sluggardized at home,
Wearing out their youth with shapeless idleness.”

About this period an injudicious spirit of economy had well nigh proved destructive of our naval establishments.—Our ships, with but few exceptions, were directed to be placed in ordinary, and our officers placed on half pay.—By this policy, those gentlemen who had embarked their fortunes in the service of their country would be forced, by necessity, either to direct their attention to other pursuits, to engage in the navy of a foreign government, or to lead an idle and listless life; engendering habits of vice, not only injurious to their own characters, but to those officers with whom they might afterwards associate. Either course would necessarily have proved equally injurious to this important branch of the public service.

Commodore Bainbridge was so deeply impressed with the destructive tendency of this measure, that he suffered no opportunity to pass without bestowing upon it the strongest expressions of reprobation. Being sustained in his views by many of the most intelligent citizens of our country, as well as by the officers, they were at last embraced by the government, and those that were more contracted and illiberal abandoned it, never again, it was hoped, to be revived.

Though our economists were driven from the ground on this point, yet they soon afterwards discovered, that the services of certain officers could be dispensed with, and thus some ten or twenty thousand dollars would be saved by the government.—In conformity with these views, a bill was reported to Congress which authorized the dismissal of a num-

ber of officers from each grade.—Believing that this measure would prove as injurious as the one against which he had already remonstrated, he strongly opposed its passage into a law.—To a friend in Congress, who had asked his opinion on the subject, he replied, that—

“This vascillating policy, but above all this ungrateful method of dismissing brave, intelligent, and useful officers, will ultimately lead to the worst consequences. It will not only weaken the bond of attachment which unites them to the government, but takes away all incitement to become qualified for the appointments which they hold, by a tenure so precarious. If an officer serves with an expectation of being discharged at the whim and caprice of changeling politicians, he will not apply himself to study the dry and uninteresting details of his duty, but direct his mind to other studies and pursuits, which promise him greater and more permanent advantages.

“When a gentleman enters into military life, he should receive positive assurances, that so long as he conducts himself with propriety, and uses his best endeavours to acquire a knowledge of his profession, he should be rewarded with the continued confidence of government, and honoured in time with a more elevated rank. Nothing less than such expectations can reconcile a young man of pride and sensibility to the privations, hardships, poverty, and vexations necessarily attendant on his first appointment.

“What can be more unjust or unfeeling, than, after an officer has served faithfully, and fought bravely in the humble walks of his profession, that he should be doomed to penury and want, at a time when he has an indispensable right to an increase of rank and emolument? Such treatment will diminish that confidence in the paternal and fostering care of government, which an officer should always be taught to entertain. As military men have not the capacity to direct their attention to civil pursuits, they will be

obliged by necessity to enter the service of other governments, however revolting such a course may be to their feelings."

The committee on naval affairs did not call up the bill they reported, from a conviction, which was afterwards admitted, that much injury would result from the adoption of the measure proposed. The commodore had the satisfaction to again witness the destruction of a scheme fraught with mischief, and subversive of the best interests of the nation.



CHAPTER X.

Commodore Bainbridge ordered to select a Site for a Navy Yard—Accompanies President Monroe in his Eastern Tour—Correspondence with General Hislop and Lieutenant Elliot—Freedom of the City of Albany—Visits Canada—Letter from the Earl of Dalhousie—Ordered to the Command of the *Columbus*—Sails for the Mediterranean—Settled Despatches at Gibraltar—General Don—Touches at Leghorn and Naples—The Revolution in Naples—General Nugent—Visits Syracuse, and the Barbary Capitals—Sends an Agent to Smyrna—Revocation of the Act exacting Duties on Provisions imposed by Spain—Admiral Ruysch—Invitation to Genoa—Arrives in the Harbour of Toulon—Admiral Missiessy—Letter to the Secretary of the Navy—Arrival of Commodore Jones.

IN the year 1817, the President of the United States was authorized by a resolution of Congress to direct an examination of the eastern coast of the United States, in order that a proper site might be selected for a naval depot, rendezvous and dock-yard. Commodore Bainbridge, Captains Evans and Perry, of the navy, and General Swift, and Colonel M'Crea of the engineer corps, were appointed commissioners to make the necessary surveys, and examinations. The brigs of war, *Prometheus* and *Enterprise*, and Schooner

Lynx were properly manned and placed under the command of the commodore, for the purpose of carrying him and his associates to the different points which they had been directed to survey.

While engaged in this service he received an invitation from President Monroe, who was then making a tour through the United States, to meet him at New London with the vessels then under his command. At the appointed time the commodore's little squadron arrived at the place assigned, and conveyed the president and suite to Newport.

The commodore accompanied the chief magistrate, as one of his aids, as far as Portland by land; after which he was directed, in conjunction with General Swift, to examine the Penobscot river, and select proper sites for fortifications. After this duty was performed he resumed his command as senior officer of the Boston station.

As his duties now did not engross much of his attention, and possessing industry and an activity mind, he engaged in a correspondence with his friends in Congress, on the subject of a reorganization of the navy. These letters are highly creditable to him as an officer of judgment and penetration, yet as they relate to circumstances which could be only interesting during the period at which they were written, I do not think it advisable to submit them to the public.

During this season of leisure, he devoted no inconsiderable portion of his time to a correspondence with his numerous friends.—His letters evince an ardour of feeling, and a warmth of attachment, which is characteristic of his affectionate disposition.

The following letter, addressed to his excellency General Hislop, then Governor of Bombay, is of this character.

"Boston, July 9, 1818.

"MY DEAR GENERAL,

"Having this moment heard, that an officer of the British army is about to sail from this port to join your command in the East Indies, I eagerly avail myself of the opportunity to revive our acquaintance, and to tender to you the assurance of my sincere regard. In whatever situation you may be placed, you will always have the esteem of one who will ever feel a lively interest in your welfare. Though I was indebted to the fortune of war for my first knowledge of you, yet the gallantry and firmness which you displayed on that occasion, and your subsequent conciliatory deportment, have made an impression upon me which can never be eradicated.

"Should the events connected with either peace or war bring us again together, I am certain that after our duty to our country is performed, we will meet as friends.—How delighted I should be to see you in the United States, in order that I might afford you a proof of my great respect for your character; and at the same time to thank you for the handsome and liberal manner in which you have represented my conduct after your return to England.

"This I feel the more sensibly from the circumstance of your making them during the period of war, when the feelings and passions are often too much excited, to allow us to do strict justice to an enemy.

"Since the termination of the war I have observed, with great satisfaction, that our respective governments entertain a higher respect for each other than they did previously to the occurrence of that event. It is the true interest of each to cherish such sentiments, and that they may continue to do so, is my ardent wish.

"I should be greatly gratified to hear from you, and be

assured, you have no friend who would be more pleased to learn of your welfare. I pray you to rest assured of the unfeigned friendship and esteem of,

“WILLIAM BAINBRIDGE.”

The generous warmth of feeling, which breathes through this letter, corresponds with the general tone of his letters of friendship. The numerous letters which he has left on file, prove that he is capable of inspiring his correspondents with congenial sentiments.—The following letter from General Hislop is of this nature, and is an interesting testimonial of friendship, commenced under very peculiar circumstances.

“*Madras, March 14th, 1819.*”

“MY DEAR SIR,

“I have been highly gratified by the receipt of your very kind and friendly letter of the 9th of July last, which came to hand about a week ago, having been forwarded from Calcutta. Accept in consequence, my dear sir, of my most sincere and grateful thanks for your friendly remembrance of me, and be always assured, that the recollection on my part of the liberal and generous treatment, together with the personal kind attention which I and every other officer with me, who by the fortune of war became your prisoners, (after the hard fought action which terminated in the capture of the Java, by the frigate Constitution under your command) has made an impression of gratitude which no time or circumstances can efface.—It was from sentiments arising out of those feelings, which impelled me to take every occasion after my arrival in England from the Brazils to render you that justice by the unreserved acknowledgments for your very great kindness and liberality to which you were so justly entitled, and which I could not have concealed, consistent with what was due to my own feelings as an honourable man,

"It would, indeed, afford me very sincere pleasure, could I indulge in the probability of a prospect of again meeting with you, (though not exactly in the same way as that which brought me to your acquaintance,) but were it possible that such a recurrence could take place, in whatever way the contest might terminate, our personal friendship would not, I am convinced, suffer any diminution by the result. I most earnestly hope, however, that the blessings of peace may long continue to subsist between our respective countries, certain as I am that it will be for the advantage of both.

"Through the channel of the public papers, you will possibly have become acquainted with the war which broke out towards the end of the year 1817, in this quarter of the globe, between our government and the confederated Mahratta princes, which a few months after the opening of the campaign sufficed to deprive them of their thrones and their power.

"It was my good fortune to give the death blow to their machinations, on the 20th of December of that year, on which day, I attacked the army of Holcar, one of the most powerful of these princes, and by the power of the Almighty, totally defeated him, capturing all his artillery, treasure, &c. In a few days after the action, he sued for peace, and we got it upon our own terms. After an absence of ten months' severe service in the field, I returned to Madras on the 24th of June last, since which, I have been enjoying repose, accompanied by a great share of good health, which continues to reconcile me to the climate.

"How long I shall remain in it is yet uncertain, but I expect it will be at least a couple of years longer. Should you, therefore, oblige me, by doing me the favour of another letter, after this reaches you, I request you to send it by the way of London, and under cover to Messrs. Greenwood &

Co., Craigs court, Charring Cross, from whence they will forward it to me by the packet.

"I will conclude by complying with Captain Wood's request, who is with me, and who desires me to make his kindest remembrances to you.—Major Walker, if alive, is in the West Indies; but he was very ill when I last heard from him. With every good wish for your enjoyment of health, and every earthly happiness,

"I remain, my dear sir,

"Yours most sincerely

"and faithfully,

"T. HISLOP.

"WM. BAINBRIDGE, Esq.,
"United States navy, &c. &c." }

This high-minded and honourable soldier let no opportunity pass, when among his friends particularly, to represent the conduct and character of the commodore in the same point of view, which he has done in this letter. The most satisfactory proofs of this, are derived from many sources.

When in New York, in the year 1824, presiding over a court marshal, Commodore Bainbridge received the subjoined highly respectful note from Lieutenant Elliot of the British frigate Hussar, then lying in that port.

"H. B. M. Ship Hussar,

"New York, Dec. 3, 1824.

"MY DEAR SIR,•

"I had the honour of calling at your house this morning and found, as, indeed, I feared would be the case, that you were still engaged in your public duties. The principal object of my visit was to leave a message to beg that you

would not on any account think of giving yourself the trouble to call upon me. On my return on board, I received your most obliging and kind note.

"Sir Thomas Hislop is married to my sister, and to his frequent and grateful acknowledgments of your politeness, or rather kindness to him in the hour of *need*, you will, perhaps, permit me, as so near a relative, to add my own thanks, and to offer the expression of my own respect and regard for your character and person,—I shall not fail to send Sir Thomas your very kind message, which I need not say will give him the most sincere pleasure. I am sure it will give you real pleasure to learn that Captain Chads is at this moment employed, and that there is every reason to expect his speedy promotion.

"If it can be done without exposing you to the least degree of inconvenience or trouble, may I venture to observe, that nothing will give me more pleasure, than an opportunity of paying my respects to you in person, and again assuring you, that I shall always be, my dear sir, with sentiments of the highest consideration, and most perfect truth,

"Your very obedient

"and much obliged servant,

"CHARLES ELLIOT.

"To COMMODORE BAINBRIDGE,"

&c. &c. &c.

In the year 1803, Commodore Bainbridge formed an acquaintance with the Earl of Dalhousie at Gibraltar, which soon afterwards ripened into a sincere friendship.—A correspondence at intervals, was maintained between them until the death of Commodore Bainbridge.

Learning from the public prints that the Earl was travelling through Upper Canada, the commodore left Boston for

the purpose of paying him a visit. He commenced his journey in the early part of July, 1819, and in passing through Albany, in the state of New York, the city councils, passed, unanimously, the subjoined preamble and resolution.

" City of Albany.

" In Common Council, July 19, 1819.

" Whereas the board has received the gratifying intelligence of the arrival in this city of Commodore William Bainbridge, the heroic commander of the frigate *Philadelphia*, off Tripoli in 1803, of the frigate *Constitution*, off the coast of Brazil in December, 1812: and, whereas, this common council entertain a high sense of the distinguished services of the gallant naval hero, and a high respect and veneration for his exalted character; Therefore, *Resolved*, That the freedom of this city, in a gold box, be presented to Commodore Bainbridge, with a suitable address by his honour the mayor."

This resolution was accordingly conveyed to the commodore, enclosed in the annexed letter from the chief magistrate of the city.

" To Commodore William Bainbridge,

" of the Navy of the United States.

" Sir,

" In conformity with a resolution of the common council, I have the honour to present to you the freedom of this city, as a testimony of the sense which we entertain of your naval services and reputation.

" Permit me to add the assurance of my personal esteem and respect, accompanied with my sincere wishes for the

prolongation of your valuable life to support your country's flag, and advance her naval glory.

" I have the honour to be,

" Yours, &c.

" P. S. VAN RENSALAER.

" Albany, October, 1819."

In pursuing his journey to Canada, he had the mortification to learn, when at Buffalo, that the Earl had left the Falls of Niagara some days, on his return to Nova Scotia, of which province he was then governor. The commodore hastened his pace for the purpose of overtaking his old friend, but was not successful. This disappointment was expressed in very feeling terms by both of them in their subsequent correspondence.

In passing through the British provinces, he was treated with great civility by the British officers, stationed at Kingston, Montreal, and Quebec.

The character given of our gallant countryman by Sir Thomas Hislop, was generally known among the British army officers, who generously took every opportunity to convince him of the high respect which they entertained for his great private worth, as well as for his accomplishments as an officer.

After his return to Boston, he made a long report to the secretary of the navy, on the political and military condition of the Canadas. Though this report evinces no inconsiderable powers of observation and judgment, yet it could be only interesting at that particular period.

In October, 1819, a board of senior captains, of which Commodore Bainbridge was president, was ordered by the secretary of the navy to convene at New York, in order to examine midshipmen for promotion.—This was the first examination of midshipmen instituted by the government, and

the result proved so advantageous to the navy, that they have been continued ever since.—From this period none have been promoted to lieutenants, without first passing a rigid examination in seamanship, and in such parts of mathematics as appertain to their profession.—They are obliged, besides, to furnish satisfactory testimonials of moral conduct, and gentleman-like deportment. By this tribunal the worthy and intelligent are encouraged, and the ignorant and profligate are driven from the service, before they receive a commission which they would not fail to disgrace.

In November of the same year, the commodore was ordered to the new line-of-battle ship *Columbus*, then lying at Washington, and was appointed to the command of the United States naval forces in the Mediterranean.

When he was about to leave the Boston station, he received the subjoined address, signed by eighteen officers.

"The undersigned, cockpit and steerage officers of the United States ship *Independence*, beg leave to express their unfeigned regret at the prospect of your departure from the ship which you have commanded for so long a period, and with so much dignity. Be pleased to accept their sincere thanks for the many indulgences and the kind treatment received from you, while serving under your command. With regret for the bereavement which they are about to experience in the loss of your paternal care, receive their congratulations on your transfer to a command of equal or superior importance, convinced as they are, that there is no situation in which you would not confer honour on the naval character of our country. Anxious to rejoin you shortly, they remain with sentiments of the highest respect and esteem,

"Your most obedient servants."

When he reached the ship in December, she was in a very unfinished state, having only her lower masts in, the lower

rigging over head, and about forty tons of ballast. Anxious to have the ship removed, before being locked in the ice, she was in this state towed down the Potomac by a steam boat, as far as the mouth of the river St. Mary's, distant one hundred and twenty miles from the city of Washington.

He carried with him eighty mechanics, consisting of carpenters, joiners, blacksmiths, plumbers, and painters.

With such means he completed, and prepared for sailing, this noble vessel, in a situation, which afforded no more facilities, or comforts, than if he had been in the wilderness.

The difficulties, hardships, and privations which the veteran experienced in fitting out this vessel were so great, that no one, except endowed with uncommon energy, could have surmounted them.

At this time no part of the ship intended for the accommodation of officers was completed, excepting the cockpit and steerage.—He was therefore obliged, as he stated to a friend, "to rough it for some months with his young officers." Being thus compelled to expose himself during the inclement months of winter, it is a matter of surprise, that an officer of his age, and accustomed as he was, to at least all the comforts which a good cabin can afford, did not suffer severely in health. His conduct, however, on this, as on all other occasions, proves that a zealous and energetic performance of his public duties was his first consideration, and personal comforts and advantages secondary.

By great exertions the ship was prepared for sailing, and left her anchorage in St. Mary's river about the first of March. Some time previously to his leaving the United States, he received the subjoined letter from his friend the Earl of Dalhousie, which, with its enclosures, were found in no small degree useful to him.

"Halifax, Nov. 25th, 1819.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"Accept a thousand thanks for your kind letter; in renewing an intercourse between us once more, it fills up a vacuum of twenty years, while it recalls very many happy days left behind us at that distance. I am sorry to think that you are about to cross the Atlantic: but in that personal regret, I am not so selfish as not to rejoice in seeing you still actively employed in the highest rank of your country's service.—I feel it a duty to persevere in the same line, while I am blessed with health to do my part. I had resolved on returning the next year to England, but the very melancholy event that occurred in Canada the past summer, has led me up to the chief command there, one of the most honourable under the British crown. The same hopes, the same prospects, I am sure, animate us equally—that of retiring in due time with minds contented in having served our country faithfully, to enjoy the evening of our days in calm and peaceable retirement.

"I shall be indeed truly happy to receive you at Quebec on your return. I like your climate in the new world very much, and I take a warm interest in seeing a state of society far behind the condition of Europe, bursting with astonishing vigour from its infant state to manly efforts. Active myself, I delight in making people active about me. I am not therefore afraid of home-sickness, so long as I can find a busy scene within my reach. You will therefore, in all probability, find me in Canada on your return. I wish you health and every happiness during your cruise in the Mediterranean, and shall be most happy to hear from you. When you have an idle hour, think of Quebec.

Though you will not find me, you will my regiment in the garrison of Gibraltar. It contains many good people. The

governor, General Don, is a friend for whom I have long had a great respect and regard. I beg you will allow me to enclose to your care a few lines to him, as also to the officers commanding my regiment.

"With every wish for your welfare, believe me, my dear sir,

"Yours faithfully and sincerely,

"DALHOUSIE.

"COMMODORE BAINBRIDGE,"

&c. &c. &c.

Sailed from Hampton Roads on the 28th of April, and arrived at Gibraltar on the 4th of June. The officers of the American squadron under the temporary command of Captain Thompson, a gallant and discrete commander, were prohibited, by an order from General Don, from having any intercourse either with the town or garrison. This measure, which certainly had the appearance of being a high-handed one, grew out of the repeated quarrels, and duels, which had taken place between the American and British officers. As these officers were becoming daily more exasperated against each other, arising rather from national prejudice than from personal injury, General Don thought it an act of prudence, to say the least, to put a stop to further effusion of blood by this interdiction.

Immediately after the Columbus came to anchor, a visit of ceremony was paid to the governor, when the latter immediately proposed an adjustment of the dispute between the officers under their respective commands. The commodore stated that he must decline entering into any negotiation, until his order of interdiction should first be repealed. This order prohibiting the American officers from visiting the town was considered an indignity, and that therefore he could not receive any civilities, much less enter into a negotiation so long as the offensive act continued in operation. The go-

vernor expressed an assurance, that the measure which he adopted was entirely precautionary, and which he could not remove until the difficulty which called it forth was amicably and satisfactorily settled.

Finding, however, that the commodore was determined on the course which he had at first proposed, the governor obligingly yielded so far as to remove the prohibition, after which the commanders had little difficulty in adjusting the controversy, in a manner highly honourable and satisfactory to both parties.

Commodore Bainbridge had formed an acquaintance with General Don, during his short command in the Mediterranean, in the year 1815: the prompt manner in which he settled the quarrels among the officers of the squadron, and those of the garrison, added to the warm letters of his friend the Earl of Dalhousie, procured for him the kindest and most flattering civilities. The officers of the earl's regiment evinced every disposition to be courteous and hospitable to the friend of their commander.

Harmony and good feeling was thus completely restored, and a friendly intercourse again re-established upon a footing much more cordial than had existed between the English and American officers at any previous period. Since this reconciliation no misunderstanding of any kind has recurred.

The American squadron sailed from Gibraltar on the 12th of June, touched at Leghorn and arrived at Naples, on the 9th of July, the day on which the revolutionary troops entered the city, and the day subsequent to that on which the king signed the constitution. Forty thousand soldiers and armed peasantry passed through the principal streets, conducting themselves with the most perfect propriety and decorum.

The commodore states in his journal, that "soon after he had cast anchor, a Neapolitan officer came alongside of the ship to tender the respects of the captain of marine, and po-

lately offered the customary civilities.—Soon after breakfast I went on shore, when the whole city appeared in active motion, but no disorder. The street of Toledo was crowded with the populace, awaiting the entry of the ‘army of reunion,’ which was received with the heartiest acclamations; every countenance beamed with joy and satisfaction.

“This army was composed of the king’s revolted troops, of the militia from the different provinces, and of armed citizens from all parts of the kingdom, amounting, it was supposed, to about 40,000, all of whom were completely armed. After passing through the street of Toledo, the whole force moved in procession before the palace, and the houses of the royal ministers; after which they separated in detachments, and lodged in the suburbs of the city.

“The temperance and forbearance of the revolutionists,—the extreme order and regularity which characterize all their movements,—the wisdom and moderation which preside over their councils, while they excite general astonishment, are, at the same time, subjects of the most delightful self-gratulation, to all friends of liberal principles. At present, appearances justify a hope, that absolute despotism is for ever prostrated, and that constitutional and representative freedom, is established on a basis that cannot be shaken by any efforts of the feeble monarch, who is still, nominally, tolerated as the chief of the nation. Though he has signed the constitution, and sworn to support and maintain its principles, yet there are few of his subjects weak enough to believe that he would not gladly forget the obligation he had taken, provided a fair opportunity were offered to restore lawless power and savage bigotry.”

The opinion which the commodore had formed of the stability of the institutions, which he saw raised under circumstances so cheering and favourable, does not detract, in any degree, from his usual sound judgment.—Had not foreign despots conspired against the happiness of the people—had

not the citizens been corrupted, and their efforts enfeebled by a profuse distribution of gold—had not a powerful foreign army overspread the fair fields of Campagna; “And like an evil angel, bid the people forget their liberty,” her excellent government might still have flourished, and the people have become vigorous and intelligent, as they are sprightly, obliging, and courteous. The hated and darkening banner of withering legitimacy has again waved over the nation, and the gloom of ignorance, bigotry, and profligacy, must continue, until bold and enlightened patriots, fearlessly proclaiming the rights of their species, reduce “opinion to reason, and power to law.”

During the short period which the commodore remained in Naples, he visited the ruins of Pompeii and Herculaneum, the royal palace and museum at Portici,—the Grotto of Pausillippo, Virgil’s tomb, and most of the objects of interest in the city of Naples.—On the 10th of July, he received a visit from Mr. Middleton of South Carolina, and Mr. Lusington, the British consul, who requested a private interview. The consul stated, that General Nugent, a British officer engaged in the Neapolitan service, had rendered himself so obnoxious to the populace of Naples, by the political measures which he had advocated, that he was in great personal danger. He, therefore, requested the commodore to relieve him from his perilous situation, by receiving him on board the Columbus.—This favour was very properly refused, on the ground that it would be an interference in the internal concerns of the city, which, as the representative of a friendly nation would be highly reprehensible.—If General Nugent had made strong efforts to arrest the progress of the revolution, and to oppose the wishes of the nation, he must take the consequences.—Were he to give protection to an enemy of the people and of the government, he would act inconsistently with his duty, and would give just cause

of complaint, where it was his wish to cultivate friendly relations.

On the 12th of July, the *Columbus* sailed from Naples, and after having touched at Syracuse, proceeded to the coast of Africa.—The commodore visited the three Barbary capitals, communicated with the different consuls, and finding that our relations with those powers continued on an amicable footing, he returned to Gibraltar about the first of September.

A few days after the arrival of the American squadron in this bay, the commodore despatched his private secretary, Mr. Folsome, to Smyrna, for the purpose of obtaining information on the following points.

1. On the extent and nature of the commerce between the United States and Smyrna, and other ports in the Turkish empire.

2. The commercial regulations by which this trade is governed.

3. Whether an American consul or commercial agent at Smyrna, would prove an advantage to our merchants?

The secretary performed the duty assigned to him with so much ability and industry, as to elicit the thanks of his commander. After furnishing much curious information on the peculiar state of the trade of Smyrna, he proves from documents in the possession of Mr. Offley, an enterprising American merchant residing there, that the value of our commerce, with this port alone, was worth about a million, annually.—He proves also, that this amount might be greatly increased, provided the government would afford proper protection.

Sailed again from Gibraltar on the 10th of September, eastward, and arrived at Port Mahon, in the island of Minorca, on the 26th, and was received with much distinction by the governor of the island, who is an officer of great intelli-

gence and energy.—He was honoured with a visit from the commandant of marine, Captain Mandeville, who obligingly offered the use of the navy yard to repair any of the American ships that required it, and professed a great willingness to contribute as much as possible to the commodore's personal comfort, so long as he remained in their harbour.

The obliging disposition of these gentlemen, however, was thwarted by instructions conveyed from the Spanish government to the Intendant, to exact heavy duties on all the provisions either landed or removed from the store-ships to the men-of-war. As the commodore could not submit to such enormous exactions, he forthwith ordered the return of the store-ships to Gibraltar.

He opened a correspondence with the American minister near the court of Madrid on this subject, and satisfactorily pointed out the great disadvantages which would result to Port Mahon, by the continuance of measures which must for ever prevent its being a place of rendezvous to the American squadron.

These representations were conveyed to the Spanish government by our minister, which had the effect to cause an immediate revocation of the obnoxious regulation.—Great advantages were thus secured to the American squadron, and which are not obtained in any other port in the Mediterranean, except that of Gibraltar.

During this visit to Port Mahon, many personal civilities passed between Rear Admiral Ruysch, commander of the Dutch squadron in the Mediterranean, and Commodore Bainbridge. The courteous demeanour, and great hospitality of the American commander, added to the fine appearance, and high state of discipline of his squadron, conciliated the esteem of the Dutch admiral, and awakened the highest respect for his talents as an accomplished officer.—A friendship of a lasting character was thus commenced, and

has ever since been maintained by correspondence.—This is another proof of the commodore's powers to conciliate friends, and of awaking a warmth of feeling in the breast of others, responsive to the generous ardour which glowed within his own.

The American squadron sailed from Port Mahon on the 2d of March for Genoa, to which place Commodore Bainbridge was invited by the American consul, at the instance of some of the most eminent citizens of that place. As one object of the squadron was to give to the different powers along the shores of the Mediterranean proofs of our naval strength, and of our ability to defend our commerce, should it again be assailed, he did not hesitate to accept the invitation. The inhabitants of a city, which had the honour to give birth to Columbus, were anxious to see the noble ship which bore the proud name of a citizen whose memory was dearly cherished by them. It seems that his fame becomes more exalted in the estimation of his countrymen, as the new world which he discovered rises in grandeur and magnificence.

Though they boast of many distinguished names—their *Grimaldis*—*Fieshis*—*Dorias*—*Spinolas*, and a host of others, yet at present there is no name of which they are so proud as that of Christoforo Colombo, the name by which he is known in his native city.

It was intended that the arrival of the United States ship of the line, with the other ships of the squadron, should be made a gala day, when the sprightly Genoese were to freely indulge in self-glorification. When near the entrance of the gulf of Genoa a violent north-western sprung up, which drove off the vessels so far as to oblige them to run into *Toulon* for safety. In consequence of other engagements, the commodore, and his associates were obliged to forego the pleasure of a visit from which they had anticipated much gratification.

After anchoring in the harbour of Toulon, the commodore, in conformity with a custom in our service, sent an officer to Admiral Missiessy to signify his disposition to salute his flag, provided assurances were given, that the compliment would be promptly returned.—The French commander replied, that he would with much pleasure direct the salute to be returned, but as he was the lord high admiral of France, and as Commodore Bainbridge wore the pendant of a captain de vaisseaux, he could not return as many guns by six, as the number to which his flag was entitled. On these terms the commodore declined firing the salute, but professed a desire to cultivate the acquaintance of the admiral, and promote a friendly intercourse among the officers under their respective commands. These sentiments were reciprocated by Admiral Missiessy, and a perfectly good understanding was maintained, and repeated civilities exchanged so long as the American squadron continued at Toulon. I think it necessary to mention these facts, (which are not of themselves particularly interesting,) in contradiction to a malicious report that the commodore sacrificed certain advantages to his squadron, to idle punctilios. The report was entirely without foundation: but admit such to be the result of the stand which he assumed, still he was perfectly justified. An officer who will not exact every tittle of respect to which his flag is entitled will lower himself in the estimation of foreign officers, and will afterwards invite treatment of a similar, if not of a more aggravated character.

So favourable was the impression made by the commodore wherever his squadron appeared, that American citizens resident in France and Italy felt and testified to the benefits which they derived from his cruise.

During Commodore Bainbridge's command in the Mediterranean, he carried on an active correspondence with many of the American consuls, and all ministers, near the different

European courts. The multiplied duties which he had to perform were accomplished with his usual zeal, and in a manner highly satisfactory to his government.

One of the objects of Commodore Bainbridge's cruise in the Mediterranean was to show his finely constructed ship at Constantinople, and to sound the disposition of the Ottoman government, whether or not an American minister would be received. As permission, however, could not be obtained to pass beyond the Dardanelles, the wishes of government on this point could not be fulfilled. He states in a letter to the secretary of the navy, dated May the 7th, 1821, that,

"Although I have been prevented visiting Constantinople, by the positive interdiction of the Turkish government, I have yet the satisfaction to believe that my cruise in this sea has been in some degree serviceable to our country, by effecting an amicable adjustment of our difficulties at Gibraltar and by obtaining, in the most eligible situation, a place of deposit for our squadron on the most favourable conditions. Showing our squadron, and particularly so formidable a vessel as the Columbus, before the different Barbary ports, has heightened the respect which these powers already entertain for our nation."

"My communications with Mr. Shaler, the American consul general for the Barbary regencies, by correspondence, and by other modes, has been frequent, and such in all respects as to satisfy the intentions of government. The squadron under my command was always kept on the alert, and ready to move at any moment against these corsairs, should they manifest the least disposition to molest our commerce, or in any degree to violate their treaties with the United States. Little apprehension, however, has been entertained on this point, as our consuls at Tripoli, Tunis, Algiers, and Morocco, have given me the most satisfactory assurances of the friendly disposition of all these governments.

"Agreeably to your instructions I have kept up a regular

correspondence with the resident ministers of the United States at the courts of Europe, and with the consuls at the principal ports. The minister at London has been particularly attentive to my letters.

"I have not been unmindful of the unsettled state of Europe, and have accordingly conducted the squadron with great circumspection into foreign ports. I have the satisfaction to inform you, that in whatever place I visited, the flag of the United States was treated with the highest respect. During my command of this squadron, it has had communication with English, French, Spanish, Italian, Turkish, and Barbary ports, yet not a single instance has occurred of the slightest collision between the officers of it, and the various people with whom they have had intercourse.

"Such of your instructions as relate to the maintenance of strict discipline, in order to avoid the expenses attending courts martial and to lessen the evil consequences of duelling, has been steadily attended to, and most happy has been the result. Only one officer (a midshipman) has been brought to a court martial, and not one duel has taken place. This gratifying fact will appear the more remarkable when the whole number of officers (one hundred and eighty-four) is taken into consideration, and when it is remembered that often supernumerary officers were attached to the vessels, crowding those who regularly belonged to them, and thus increasing the difficulty of preserving exact discipline.

"Your subsequent instructions dated on the 22d of August last, relative to the selection of a place of depot and rendezvous for the squadron called forth my best exertions; and with the aid of Mr. Richard McCall, and that of Mr. Brent charge d'affairs of the United States at Madrid, I was successful in obtaining from the Spanish government the privilege of depositing provisions and stores for the United States squadron, free of duties, at Port Mahon in the island of Minorca; that being the place I had chosen as best adapted to the purpose.

The term of permission, however, is limited to six months, though intimation was given that it may be renewed on the application of the American government, and that, at all events, an additional period of three months will be allowed for the removal of any stores which may be there deposited. Although I do not entertain the least apprehension of an intention on the part of the Spanish government to withdraw the permission, yet I would suggest the propriety of the charge d'affairs of the United States being instructed to request a renewal of it every six months, or to secure it for an indefinite period."

On the fourth of June, 1821, Commodore Jones arrived in the frigate *Constitution* at Gibraltar, for the purpose of relieving Commodore Bainbridge of the command of the Mediterranean squadron. So soon as the ceremonies attending the transfer were performed, the latter sailed in the *Columbus* for the United States, and arrived at Boston on the 21st of July. He was received by his numerous friends in Boston with every demonstration of cordiality and kindness.

So soon as the government was officially informed of the arrival of the *Columbus* in Boston, the President of the United States wrote a private letter to Commodore Bainbridge, in which he expressed great gratification at the manner in which his duties were performed, and concludes by remarking, that,

"I have read your report, as I had previously done all your correspondence with the secretary of the navy, with great satisfaction.

"With very cordial respect for your public services, and regard for your private qualities,

"I am sincerely yours,

"JAMES MONROE."



CHAPTER XI.

Commodore Bainbridge ordered to preside at a Board for Examination of Midshipmen—Appointed to the Philadelphia Station—Letter from the Emperor of Mexico—Ordered to the Boston Station—President of a Court Martial at New York—Appointed President of the Navy Board of Commissioners—A Commissioner to form Plans for the future Improvements of Navy Yards—Appointed to the Command of the Philadelphia Station—Difficulty with the Secretary of the Navy—The Compliment of a Public Dinner—Death of his Son—Ordered to the Command of the Boston Station—Ill Health—Resigns his Command and returns to Philadelphia—Death—Character.

IN the autumn of 1821, and shortly after the commodore's return to the United States, he was ordered to New York as president of a board, instituted for the examination of midshipmen for promotion.—After the duties of the board were finished, he was appointed to the command of the Philadelphia station.—On his return to Boston for the purpose of removing his family, both officers and citizens testified the keenest regret at the prospect of his leaving that station.

The officers of the station gave him a handsome public dinner, as a testimony of their "respect for his public cha-

racter, and esteem for his private virtues." The mechanics of the navy yard made a similar manifestation of their attachment to him.

The appointment of Commodore Bainbridge to the Philadelphia station, where he was generally known, and not less generally esteemed, afforded great satisfaction to the citizens. This feeling was soon made manifest by the kind and marked, but inostentatious attentions, which were shown to himself and family.

During his command of this station, he fitted out the North Carolina seventy-four, and systematized the duties of the navy yard in such a way, as to promote economy, and to afford additional security to the valuable public property.

At this period, Commodore Bainbridge rendered some service to Commodore Cortes, a distinguished Mexican officer. These services were considered of so much importance by the unfortunate Emperor, as to elicit from him the subjoined letter.

"Mexico, May 4th, 1822.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"Among the letters received by me from Philadelphia, by the schooner Equalla, I have received some from Richard Meade, and Commodore Cortes of this empire. Both make mention of the kindness and good wishes entertained by you towards my country, as also your kindness in offering to Commodore Cortes your assistance in fulfilling his commission. For these services the empire is indebted to your liberality and humanity, in showing a predilection in favour of my country, which has excited in me the warmest gratitude, and determined me to offer to you my friendship and respects, and beg you will have the goodness to consider

these expressions as emanating from a sincere and frank heart.

“I remain,
“ With great consideration,
“ Your Q. S. M. B.
“ AUGUSTIN DE ITURBEDIE.

“COMMODORE BAINBRIDGE.”

This letter, as an emanation from royalty, may be considered as a curiosity. The warmth and condescension by which it is marked, will form a striking contrast to the cautious and measured expressions of his more legitimate brethren.

In July, 1823, the secretary of the navy offered to Commodore Bainbridge the command of the navy yard in Boston, which had been rendered vacant by the transfer of Captain Hull to the command of the squadron destined to the Pacific Ocean.

As this command is one of more activity than that of Philadelphia, and presents a wider field for the exercise of his talents, it was promptly accepted; though in opposition to the earnest solicitations of his Philadelphia friends. The officers of this station who were warmly attached to him, importuned him to remain, but his resolve was taken, and he could not be diverted from his purpose. Before he left Philadelphia, they gave to him a handsome public entertainment.

In obedience to his orders he entered upon the duties of his new command early in August.—The citizens of Charlestown evinced, in many ways, the high respect which they entertained for his character. He was received by a deputation of citizens at Chelsea bridge, and conducted amid the

hearty cheers of the people, to a splendid public entertainment prepared for the occasion.

During his short command of this station, he introduced the same internal regulations and system of discipline, which had been found so salutary at the station which he had just left. He had scarce, however, adopted his new arrangements, and located his family comfortably, when he was invited by the President of the United States to the station of president of the board of navy commissions, which had been rendered vacant by the resignation of Commodore Rodgers. Possessing a command which he had long desired, enjoying every comfort which himself and family could wish,—associated in society with a people, to whom he was warmly attached, it was not to be supposed that he would relinquish it, even for the elevated station to which he was called, without some degree of hesitation.—The solicitations, however, of the secretary of the navy—the advice of his friends, added to that deep sense of duty, which had hitherto taught him not to avoid any situation in which he could be useful, at length determined him to accept it, but not until he received assurances from government, that he should be permitted to resume his favourite command, if he desired it, at the expiration of three years.

Before he entered upon his duties as commissioner, he was ordered by the secretary of the navy to New York, as president of a court martial, for the trial of Lieutenant Weaver and other officers.—The secretary's object in ordering the commodore on this trial was, that the country might enjoy the benefit of his unerring and independent judgment, in cases which were of vital importance to the navy, and to the best interests of the nation.—As soon as the court adjourned, he proceeded to Washington, and was inducted in his seat as president of the navy board about the middle of December.—He was associated in his duties with Com-

modores Jones and Morris, officers greatly distinguished for their services, for their liberal views, and for their general intelligence.

In exercising the functions of his recent appointment, he was remarkable for the industry and zeal with which he investigated every subject submitted to his examination, for the promptitude with which he acted, and for the impartiality and justice which characterized his decisions.

The duties which he was called upon to perform were highly important, requiring great industry, sound judgment, and accurate professional knowledge. His associate commissioners bear high testimony to his ability as a presiding officer, and to his patriotic devotion to the best interests of the navy. A history of the dry and fatiguing details of his labours in this office, would not interest the general reader, yet his journal contains many valuable suggestions, which might prove highly important to those who may succeed him in the same appointment.

At the expiration of three years, the period for which he accepted the appointment of president of the navy board, he offered his resignation; but instead of returning to Boston, as was his original intention, he expressed a preference for the navy yard at Philadelphia, believing that the climate would best suit his impaired health.

In addition to his duties as commanding officer, others were required of him, growing out of a law passed by Congress at the close of the session of 1827, which directs, "That the President of the United States be, and he is hereby authorized to cause the navy yards of the United States to be thoroughly examined, and plans to be prepared and sanctioned by the President for the improvement of the same, and the preservation of the public property therein, from which plans, no deviations shall hereafter be made but by his special order."

In obedience to this authority, the President, through the

secretary of the navy, Mr. Southard, appointed Commodores Bainbridge, Chauncey, and Morris, commissioners to carry into effect the provisions of this law. Mr. L. Baldwin was appointed engineer to aid them in their surveys, and in forming their plans and arrangements. They engaged in this duty early in May, 1827, but did not complete it until some time in the year 1829. From a variety of causes these labours were frequently interrupted, but were ultimately accomplished in such a manner as to receive the hearty approbation of the government.

So soon as this arduous duty had been performed, the commodore confined his attention almost exclusively to his command on the Philadelphia station. He lived here happily among his early associates in life; honoured by the community, and highly esteemed and admired by the officers under his command.

Having moved his family from one point of command to another, for the twenty-sixth time, he resolved that it should be the last; and, therefore, purchased a house from which he determined that his family should never be disturbed. Having lived, during a long life, in storms and straits, he seemed to take counsel of the Roman, who, at the approach of old age, determined "to retire into, and die in his own harbour."

From this state of dignified tranquillity, he was disturbed in the year 1831, by a controversy as painful as unexpected, with Mr. Branch, secretary of the navy. He preferred a claim to the secretary for the usual compensation for extra services, who, instead of deciding on the case himself, referred it to the fourth auditor, who decided against him.

Feeling wounded, and somewhat indignant at being thus refused a remuneration, which had been for a period of between thirty and forty years always allowed to him and to others, he ventured to so express himself in a letter to the head of the navy department. In a few days afterwards,

he was informed by the secretary, that he was superseded in his command by another officer, without his even deigning to state the grounds on which his removal took place.

In this affair, Mr. Branch manifested a want of consideration by no means creditable to him as a man of sensibility. Though the letter of Commodore Bainbridge might be considered by some a little too strong, yet it was perfectly respectful to the President of the United States, and offensive only to Mr. Kendall, who, if he felt himself aggrieved, had the privilege of redressing his own wrongs.

Why then did Mr. Branch thus sport with the feelings of a veteran officer, who had zealously served his country for a period of thirty-three years—who had courted hardships and perils in their worst forms—who, by his skill and gallantry had shed a halo of glory around the American arms? In the calmness of retirement, Mr. Branch will have leisure, I hope, to answer this question himself. If he reflect on the subject at all, he will now, no doubt, concur in the expressed opinions of his fellow citizens generally, that it is not the duty of a patriotic minister of state to treat with contumely a gallant spirit who was always ready to peril life in the defence of his country. I mention these circumstances with sorrow, and feel more disposed to view it in a spirit of grief than of denunciation.

Commodore Bainbridge had an acute, I had almost said, a morbid sensibility, and, therefore, felt his harsh treatment the more severely. In an honourable career of service, commenced in the year 1798, and continued until this period, he never before received even a hint of disapprobation. His feelings, however, were soon soothed by a strong expression of opinion in his favour by the citizens of Philadelphia of all parties, who, to manifest their own sentiments on the occasion, offered to him the compliment of a public dinner. It was one of the handsomest and most respectable ever given in Philadelphia; and though there was no party sen-

timents delivered, yet there was that which was more grateful to his feelings, the strongest expressions of approbation and even admiration of his conduct and character. The venerable patriot, Mr. Duponceau, was appointed president, assisted by General Patterson and Colonel Wetherill as vice presidents.

No guest was ever received with more cordiality and kindness—all, indeed, seemed anxious to pour balm over the bruised spirit of this pure and single-minded veteran. In consequence of feeble health, he retired early from the dinner, when the company rose to a man, and long and loud cheering greeted his departure.

This public manifestation of the sentiments of his fellow citizens, added to other marks of flattering attention, very soon restored his spirits to their accustomed buoyancy.

In June of this year, he experienced a melancholy bereavement in the death of an only and much cherished son. This youth was educated at Princeton college, and graduated with much honour in that venerable institution.—He afterwards studied law, was admitted to the bar of Philadelphia, and afterwards settled in the city of Pittsburg.

His friends entertained sanguine expectations of his professional success.—Endowed with pure principles, and sound judgment, and possessing, withal, ripeness as a scholar, their reasonable anticipations were grounded on a solid basis. He inherited, besides, the sentiments of high honour and chivalry which distinguished his father.

The climate of Pittsburg not suiting his constitution, which was always delicate, he was obliged to return to Philadelphia, but with his disease so far advanced as to be beyond the reach of professional skill. His affectionate parents had only the sad consolation of sustaining and comforting him in his last moments.

This was the severest trial which the veteran's feelings had ever experienced. From this son he had the highest expectations—he loved him as his child, and felt confident that such were the qualities of his heart, and mind, that he would never disgrace his name.

In the autumn of the year 1832, Commodore Bainbridge was restored to duty, and was ordered by the President of the United States, through Mr. Woodbury, secretary of the navy, to the command of the Boston station and navy yard. Having determined not to move his family again, he accepted the appointment temporarily, and proceeded alone to assume the command. Finding the climate too severe for his impaired health, he resolved to relinquish the charge of the station during the following summer; but his health declining more rapidly than he anticipated, he resigned his command early in March, and found great difficulty in returning to Philadelphia. On his arrival, it was evident to his medical advisers that he could not recover. Sitting by his bed-side the day after his return, he observed in the writer's countenance an anxious, perhaps a discouraging expression, which he seemed to understand and quickly remarked, in the language of poor Lawrence, "Come, doctor, you must not give up the ship—you can again patch up this old hulk as you have often done before."

For the period of five and twenty years he was constantly troubled with a violent spasmodic cough and neuralgia. It cannot be said of Commodore Bainbridge, as was remarked of Pope, that "his life was a long disease;" still, for nearly one half of it, he experienced continued suffering.

In addition to his chronic maladies, he was attacked in January, 1833, with *Pneumonia*, connected with great irritation of his bowels, which terminated in ulceration of them, with wasting diarrhoea. He was anxious to live, and urged Dr. Chapman and the writer to candidly inform him who

ther there was any prospect of his recovery. Both believing that there was not the slightest, they replied to that effect. He became calm and resigned at once, and indulged in the hope that the period of his sufferings might soon close. Sinking rapidly about the first of July, he expressed a wish that he might linger to the fourth; but on that day, much to his disappointment, he was slightly better, so that his life was prolonged to the 28th.

He died as he had lived, a hero and a Christian—peace to his noble spirit.

His intellect continued perfectly sound and collected until about two hours before his death, when occasionally it wandered. At this time he called for his sword and pistols, which not being attended to, he raised himself partially in his bed, and demanded these instruments with great vehemence, and ordered that all hands should be called to board the enemy.

This incident shows how far the favourite pursuit may operate on the mind, even during the last pangs of existence. This is by no means a singular instance of the continuance of "the ruling passion, strong in death."

The celebrated physician and physiologist *Haller*, died feeling his pulse. He said to his friend, "The artery ceases to beat," and immediately expired.

Chaucer died singing ballads. The last words Napoleon uttered, were; "Tête d'armée."

He left behind him a wife and four daughters. The eldest and third, were married. The former to Captain Thomas Hayes, once of the navy, and the latter to Mr. Ashbel G. Jaudon, a respectable merchant of Philadelphia. His two other daughters remain single and reside with their mother.

His funeral, which took place on the 31st, was quite imposing. Besides being attended by the Cincinnati society, and a large concourse of our most respectable citizens, his body was conducted to the grave, and buried with military

honours by the United States marines, and by a beautiful brigade of infantry under the command of Colonel Watmough.

He was interred in Christ Church burying ground, and the following record was inscribed on the four sides of a beautiful marble obelisk, which is placed over his grave.

WILLIAM BAINBRIDGE,

UNITED STATES NAVY.

BORN IN PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY,

7TH OF MAY, 1774.

DIED IN PHILADELPHIA,

28TH OF JULY, 1833.

*Patria victisque laudatus.**

To this narrative of the incidents connected with the career of this distinguished man, I will add a few particulars in relation to his appearance, opinions, and character.

Commodore Bainbridge was about six feet in stature, and had a finely modelled and muscular frame, which enabled him to endure almost any degree of fatigue. His complexion was rather fair—his beard dark and strong—his eyes black, animated, and expressive. His deportment was commanding—his dress always neat and genteel, and though his temperament was ardent and sometimes impetuous he could qualify it with the greatest courtesy and with the most attractive amenity.

The daring and commanding spirit, which was equal to every emergency, enabled him to meet any movement of dif-

* This motto is taken from the medal voted to him by Congress, for his gallant services in capturing the British frigate Java.

ficulty with more than ordinary confidence. He was courageous, but not rash, and had the power to inspire every one around him with the same feeling. He had, besides, a degree of energy and moral elevation about him, which caused him to seek, rather than to avoid responsibility. When roused he was somewhat fierce and vehement; but, like a summer cloud, the excitement would soon pass away, and all would be calmness and mildness.

Among young officers, Commodore Bainbridge was considered a model, or the beau ideal of an accomplished commander. As a disciplinarian he was rigid; in the early part of his career, perhaps a little too much so. This error was not an uncommon one among young commanders, and arose from over zeal, which, however, is almost invariably corrected by reflection and the advance of years. In a conversation with him regarding the system of terror, which once prevailed in the public ships, both of the United States and Great Britain, he remarked, that it was the fault of youthful ardour, and rejoiced that he had lived to alter, and to assist in changing the former practice. He added, on the same occasion, that it was perfectly idle to hope to maintain proper discipline on board a *man of war* without occasional flogging; but at the same time, he knew from experience that its frequency could and had been greatly diminished. In many cases, no doubt, poor Jack will derive more advantage from an address to his reason, than to his back.

He was exceedingly careful of the health of his crew—and would cheerfully and promptly adopt any sound suggestion from the medical officer of the ship, that would contribute to this end. He was always particularly anxious to protect his men from unnecessary labour, and those harassing duties which always create dissatisfaction, without accomplishing an equivalent good.

The writer has heard him remark, that in fleets men are worried and exhausted by a spirit of rivalry which is en-

couraged among the crews of the different ships. He has seen men so exhausted and heated by a violent effort at the capstan in weighing anchor, that in a cold climate it has proved the exciting cause of catarrh, and in a warm one of fever. He was, therefore, in the practice of directing his officers to allow the crew to work in moderation, unless imperious circumstances demanded an opposite course.

He was so remarkable for his industry, that he never seemed disposed to excuse idleness in others. His mornings were usually occupied in his cabin in reading or writing, except when called to the deck on duty, or for exercise.

He was always hospitable, and did the duties of his table with an unaffected grace; several of his young officers, according to the good old sociable custom, dined with him almost every day.

He conciliated the esteem of almost every one with whom he associated, and seldom, if ever, lost it. He may have had enemies, as few men of decided characters are without them, yet certainly no one had more or warmer friends.

Commodore Bainbridge thought soundly and rapidly on most subjects, but often experienced some difficulty in expressing himself, particularly when speaking in that tone of vehemence, in which he sometimes indulged. He would occasionally lose his equanimity of temper, nor is this to be wondered at, when we consider the countless annoyances to which a commander at sea is exposed.

“ Who can be wise, amazed, temperate and furious,
Loyal and neutral, in a moment?”

He never, however, lost sight of the perfect gentleman; if he deemed it necessary to reprove an officer, however strong the provocation, he would relieve him from duty, invite him into his cabin, and say to him privately, whatever he deemed the nature of the offence demanded.

Commodore Bainbridge did not make a public profession of religion, but he always entertained a profound veneration for it, and expressed a deep disgust towards those who treated this sacred subject slightly.

His excellent widow has informed the writer that she never knew him to retire to rest, without first offering up a fervent prayer to his God. During his last illness he frequently called on his nephew, the Rev. John McLean, to pray for and with him.

For a few years before his death, his sufferings became so severe, that he was obliged to take opium, ether, and other antispasmodics to such an extent, as to seriously affect his nervous system. So great was the alteration in the mind and character of this long admired officer, that his friends observed the change with regret and disquietude. The dashing, warm-hearted, generous, chivalric commander of former times, became garrulous, irritable, and in a great degree, withdrew from the society of which he had been long the life and ornament.

The firmest minds and sweetest disposition, are not exempt from this fate, when the nervous system becomes the seat of disease.—Bolingbroke correctly remarked, that “the greatest hero is nothing when under a certain state of the nerves; his mind becomes like a fine ring of bells, jangled and out of tune.”

THE END.

APPENDIX.

As the preceding memoir was passing through the press, the subject of the following remarks arrested the author's attention, and although not immediately connected with, is yet incidental to the principal subject.

Whatever may have been the opinions formerly entertained on the policy of a permanent navy, the dear-bought experience of the last forty years, whether of peace or war, has removed all doubts regarding its practical utility. For more than twenty years the United States were tributary to the African regencies; for it was not until the year 1815, immediately succeeding the late war with Great Britain, when fresh from its victories, our navy released the nation from this odious burden. It would be an interesting, and not an unprofitable inquiry, to estimate the aggregate amount of tribute, and other humiliating requisitions, paid to these piratical states, and add to them, the losses sustained by European aggressions during the same period; then to compare the whole with the cost of a naval force adequate to protect the nation from both. The author has not the means to make this calculation, and if he had, this might not be considered the proper place to note the various details. It may not, however, be amiss to state, generally, on the authority of a late num-

ber of the *Naval Magazine*, that exclusive of the depredations of the Barbary powers, and the tribute paid to them, the amount of injury sustained by the United States from France and Great Britain during the late continental wars, amounted to seventy millions of dollars, besides "the detention of our citizens, and the national impoverishment resulting from loss of capital."

In the year 1800, we had nearly one million of tons of shipping exposed on the high seas; and in 1805, our exports alone were estimated at one hundred and eight millions of dollars. A naval force requiring an expenditure of six millions of dollars, annually, would have afforded complete protection not only to this vast amount of property, but would have saved our citizens from insult and suffering, and would have sustained our national pride and honour in their proper elevated position.—Enormous, indeed, as was the loss of property which was sustained, it was more supportable than the lacerating wounds which our national character received, by long submission to European insolence and aggression.

Professor Tucker of the University of Virginia, in his life of Mr. Jefferson, recently published, remarks, that "whatever is connected with this branch of the national defence, which is at once the cheapest, most efficient, and earned for the nation a glory which can never die, is interesting." In this work there is republished from "*The writings*" of Mr. Jefferson, a correspondence which took place in the year 1822, with his venerable friend Mr. Adams, in which he gives Mr. Jefferson the merit of being the father of the American navy; and opinions hostile to it were imputed to the first President of the United States and other distinguished statesmen, who had been ranked among its early advocates. Mr. Adams, in attributing to Mr. Jefferson the merit of being the earliest advocate of a navy, must have had reference to the suggestions of the latter when minister in France, and not to his policy as chief magistrate. But Professor Tucker is himself in error in saying "that the cautious character of General Washington prevented his being a zealous advocate for a navy."

It is important that the opinions of this great man, whose policy as a statesman is worthy the example of all future legislators, and

whose patriotism and private virtues are a perpetual moral to his countrymen, should be clearly understood. For this purpose the author has considered a brief view of the origin of the navy with which the early services of Commodore Bainbridge were connected, and the opinions of the first three presidents on this point, not inappropriate subjects for an article annexed to his memoir.

At the peace of 1783, all the vessels of the United States being either captured or destroyed, Congress decided not to establish a national marine until the government was in a condition to provide adequate means to support it on a respectable footing. The state of Virginia, however, was permitted to keep two small vessels of fourteen guns each, for the defence of our commerce in the Mediterranean against the pirates of Barbary.

The attention of Congress being called to this danger, our ministers in France, Messrs. Franklin, Adams, and Jefferson, were authorized to negotiate a treaty of peace and amity with these states. Notwithstanding their best efforts, and those of their successors, an arrangement for the release of the American prisoners was not accomplished until after nine years' negotiation, and at a cost of at least a million of dollars. One hundred and nineteen citizens of the United States, entitled to the protection of their government, thus remained in cruel bondage to the Algerines, for different periods, from 1785 to 1794, and our commerce entirely excluded from the Mediterranean. These pirates emerged from their inland sea and made many captures in the Atlantic. The whole force of Algiers at that period, consisted of eight vessels, varying in size from thirty-four to ten guns.

During the negotiations Mr. Jefferson in his public despatches uniformly and warmly advocated a naval force, and in his private letters he recommended an entire abandonment of the commerce of the Mediterranean in preference to the payment of a tribute, although paid at that time by all European nations.

He supported the policy of a permanent navy, as necessary to procure us respect in Europe—as less expensive than tribute—not dangerous to the liberties of the people—and would thus arm “the federal government with the safest instruments of coercion against its delinquent members.” He adds, that to ob-

tain revenue for the purposes of the general government, it may be necessary that "the *States* should see the need, and, perhaps, to feel it."

In these days of state's right principles such a declaration from the great apostle of this doctrine, may excite some surprise.

Mr. Adams preferred the payment of a tribute, principally on the score of expense. "It is worthy of remark, (says Professor Tucker) that both these gentlemen took the sides that were opposed to the general character of their tempers and policy. Mr. Jefferson, who was generally in favour of peace, was on this occasion the advocate of war; and Mr. Adams, who both before and after was among the most strenuous advocates of national rights, was willing, in conformity with the usage of other nations, to become tributary to these freebooters." Subsequently, says the same author, Mr. Jefferson concurred with the party in opposition to the navy, and Mr. Adams, when President of the United States, made it a prominent point in his policy, or as Mr. Jefferson remarks of him, he became the advocate of "the wooden walls of Themistocles."

Regarding the difference of opinion between these gentlemen, "It is probable," says Professor Tucker, "that the impression produced on Mr. Adams' mind on this occasion, inclined him at that advanced age, when the recollection is partial, to regard Mr. Jefferson as a zealous friend to a naval establishment."

It is not, however, so much the object of these remarks, to decide what may have been the opinions of Mr. Adams and Mr. Jefferson, as to correct what is believed to be an error of the former, and of the biographer of the latter, regarding the opinions and policy of General Washington. Both these gentlemen express the opinion that this illustrious statesman was hostile to the establishment of a navy. That this is an error, can, I think, be fairly proved.

In a message to Congress in the year 1792, General Washington recommended "measures for the fulfilment of our duties to the rest of the world, by placing the nation in a condition of complete defence, and of *exact*ing from other nations the fulfilment of their duties to *us*. That the United States ought not to indulge

a persuasion, that contrary to the order of human events, they will for ever keep at a distance from the painful appeal to arms with which the history of other nations abound. That there was a rank due to them among nations, which would be withheld, if not absolutely lost, by the reputation of weakness."

As early as 1790, among the first of his official acts, he communicated to Congress a report from Mr. Jefferson, suggesting the propriety, after four years fruitless negotiation, of the employment of force. Mr. Jefferson at the same time, and doubtless, with the approbation of the president, made a report to the senate, in which he speaks of protecting the commerce of the United States by arms, and by employing a naval force equal to that of Algiers, the only power which had then committed aggressions on our commerce. This report was approved of by General Washington.

In 1793, the Dey of Algiers rejected all negotiations either for peace or ransom, and directed his corsairs to cruise against our commerce in the Atlantic. In the year 1794, General Washington referred the whole subject to Congress, with a report from the secretary of state reiterating the recommendation of an adequate naval force. "This," says Professor Tucker, "was warmly opposed by the democratic party, with whom Mr. Jefferson, then in retirement, concurred."

It is somewhat curious and interesting to examine the arguments against the general policy of a navy, and even against it for the special purpose for which it was designed. Some even preferred protecting our commerce by subsidizing other nations.

The law, however, authorizing the building of six frigates, passed in the congressional session of 1794, by a majority of eleven votes, but with a proviso, which alone secured its passage, that the workmen should not continue their operations, in the event of a peace with this regency. The proviso was considered the more extraordinary, as aggressions had already commenced on our commerce, by both England and France. All these frigates were commenced at the same time in the different ports of the United States, and when in an advanced state, a peace was unexpectedly made with Algiers.

About this time a treaty was negotiated with Great Britain by Mr. Jay, which although it adjusted most of the points of dispute with that nation, it was only to increase them with France.

Although the treaty with Algiers was not executed, nor the prisoners released until the year 1796—our misunderstanding with Great Britain not finally settled—apparently on the eve of a war with France, yet such was the hostility to a navy, that Congress ordered the discontinuance of the building of three frigates.

In General Washington's last address to Congress, he strongly urges on it, the establishment of a naval force. This should be considered as one of his many valuable legacies to his countrymen. This address contains the first distinct recommendation of a permanent naval armament in the following terms.

“To active external commerce the protection of a naval force is indispensable; not only as regards wars in which the United States are a party, but to preserve our neutral rights. The trade in the Mediterranean, without a protecting force, will always be insecure, and our citizens exposed to those calamities from which numbers of them have just been relieved. These considerations invite the United States to look to the means, and set about without delay to collect materials for building ships of war, and to provide by degrees in proportion as our resources shall render it practicable, without inconvenience, so that a future war in Europe may not find our commerce in the same unprotected state in which it was found by the present.”

Professor Tucker must have inadvertently overlooked the sentiments contained in this document, otherwise he could not have expressed the opinion that the establishment of a navy was not a favourite measure of General Washington. These views, besides, accord with his known principles; that to preserve peace, preparation for war is necessary. It appears then, that the foundation of the navy was laid during the administration of the first president.

ERRATA.

Page 17, for "Russe" read *Ruse*.

19, 11 lines from bottom, for "disclose" read *discover*.

26, 3 " " " " "russe" read *ruse*.

35, 24 " " " " "for" read *of*.

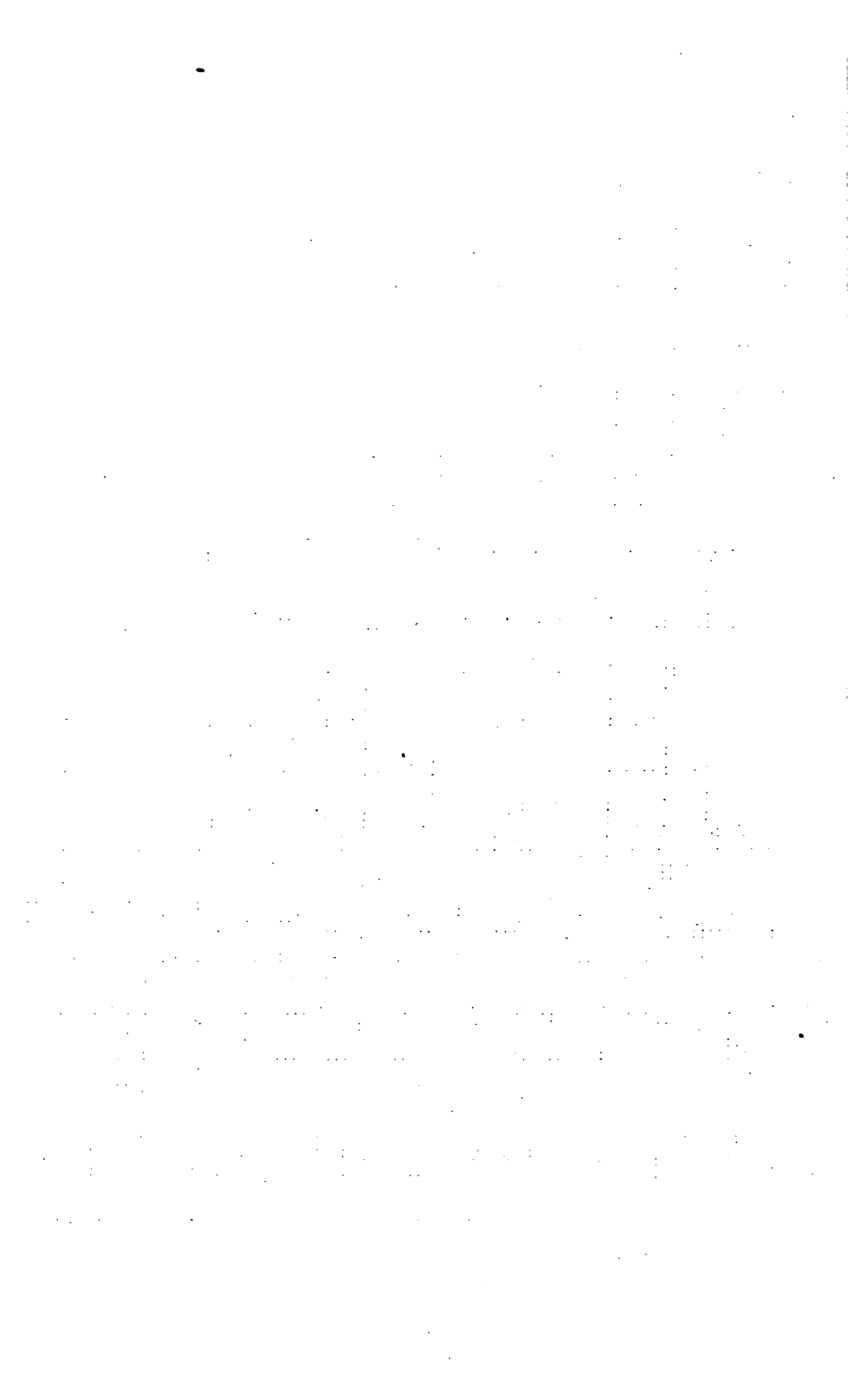
39, 10 " " after "men" insert *and*.

79, Contents, for "Nison" read *Nissen*.

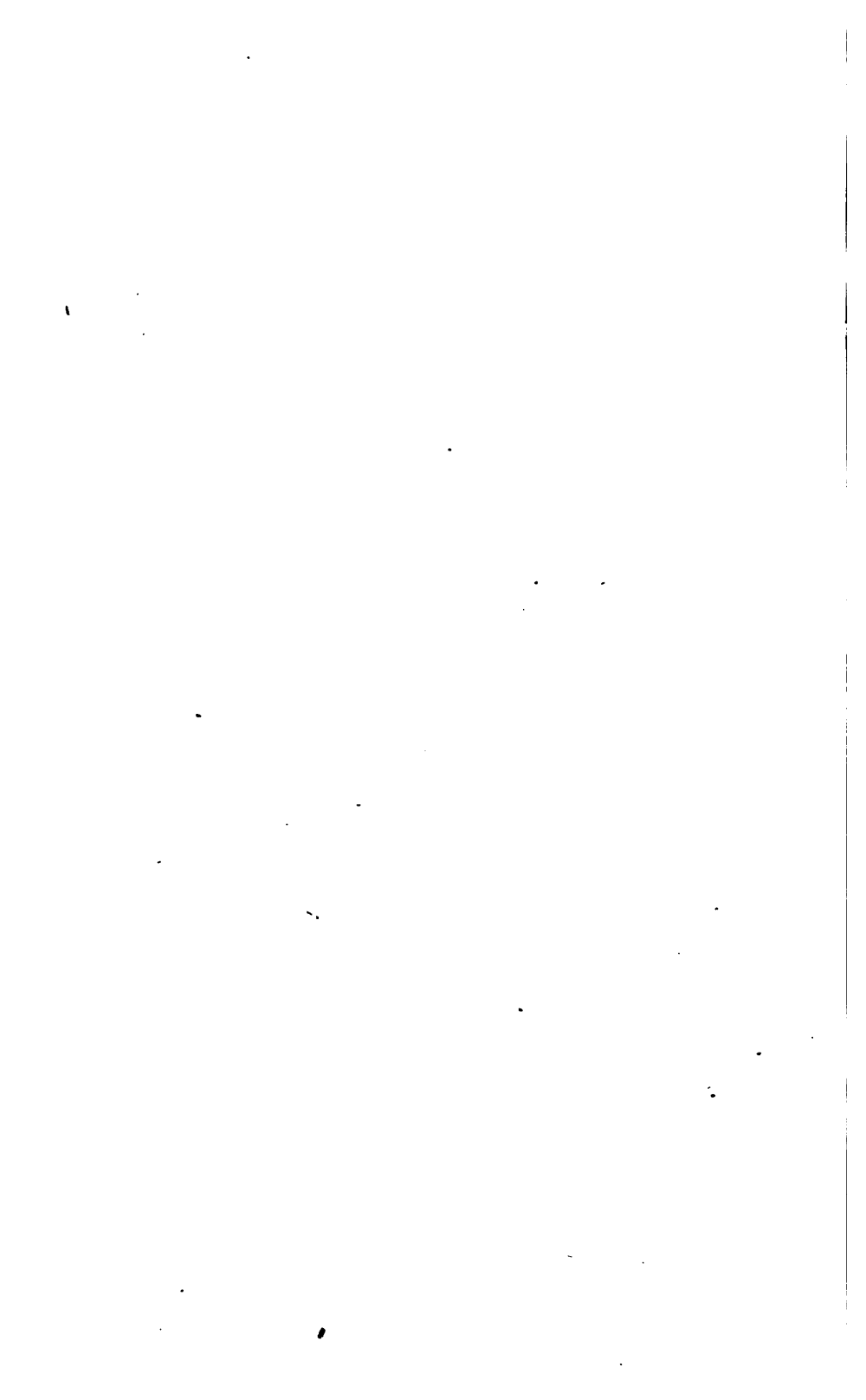
" " " "Triopolitans" read *Tripolitans*.

When "Desferneaux" occurs, read *Desfourneaux*.

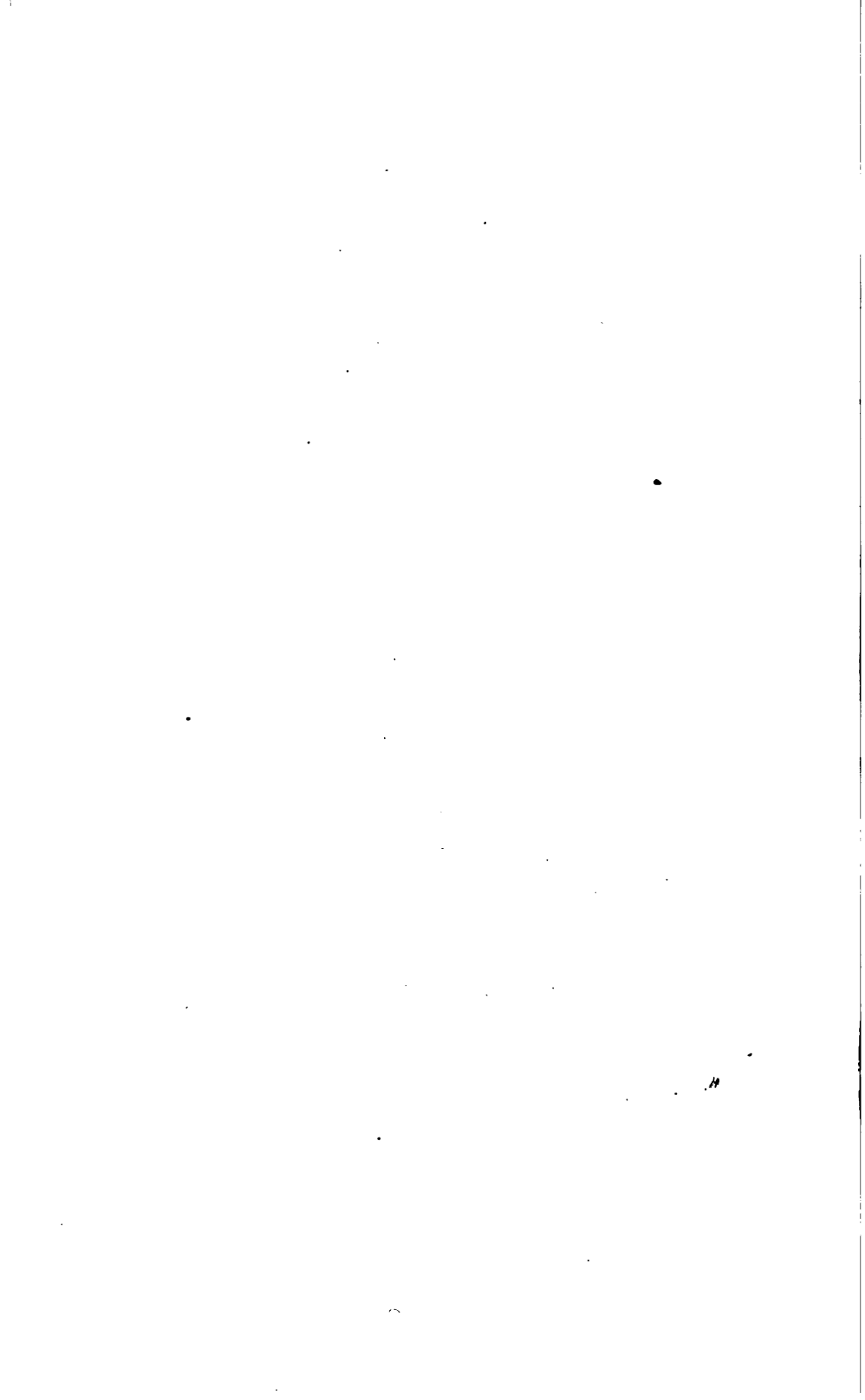
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